OUR
BENGAL

SUPARNA HOME B.A., B.T

Formerly of Binapani Pardah School, Calcutta,
Govt Girls' H. E School, Sylhet & Jail Road
Govt. Girls' H E. School, Shillong, Assam.

WITH SIXTYNINE ILLUSTRATIONS



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77 DHARAMTALLA STREET
CALCUTTA

MODERN PUBLISHERS.
6, Bankim Chatterjee St,
(College Square) Calcutta.

FIRST EDITION

DECEMBER 1950

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COVER ILLUSTRATED BY SUNIL KAR

Price Rs. 2/- only

: *Selling Agent*

PUTHIGHAR

MODERN PUBLISHERS

22 CORNWALLIS STREET

6, Bankim Chatterjee St,

CALCUTTA

(College Square) Calcutta.

Published by Ajoy Home on behalf of PARAMITA PRAKASANI
77, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta-13 and Printed in JATIYA
MUDRAN. 77, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta by
Abani Mohon Pal Chaudhuri

PREFACE

The book has been written with the object of acquainting readers with social and political developments in contemporary India with particular reference to Bengal. The style is simple and lucid, and will be easy reading to all.

The Publisher expresses his sincere thanks to all who have kindly examined the MS. and suggested corrections, especially to: M. Chatterji, Nihar Ranjan Roy and Amal Home.

Thanks are also due to Santosh Chatterji, Haralal Ganguly, H. Chatterji and Pradip Bose for their cooperation and help.

THE PUBLISHER

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What Bengal thinks today

all India thinks tomorrow

—Gokhale

CHAPTER ONE

New Age Dawns

India is free. Freedom has been achieved by struggles. The story of struggles is long and their stages are many, punctuated with defeats and submission to the foreign authority. The earliest victim of foreign arms was Bengal. With the conquest of Bengal the British Empire came into being. Arms protected commerce, and commerce expanded into the Empire. To Bengal India's debts are many. For Bengal cradled renaissance and fathered the movement of national liberation.

What is renaissance? Renaissance means rebirth. Renaissance brings about improvement and new life in art, literature and other branches of knowledge.

The relation between renaissance and political awakening is very close. Renaissance follows political awakening. This is a historical truth, and the course of social and political developments in contemporary India proves it.

The earliest exponent of the spirit of renaissance

in India was Raja Rammohun Roy (1774-1833). He was born in a critical period of Indian history. It was the period of the break-up of the Moghul Empire, and Delhi had ceased to be the symbol of a central authority. The Provincial Governors were in revolt against the Emperor, and in Eastern India the authority of the East India Company had been established. The Empire soon came into being and its expansion led to the destruction of native crafts and industries.

Though born of orthodox Hindu parents, Rammohun Roy grew into a rebel against the orthodox school of Hinduism at the age of sixteen. That was the outcome of his wide reading in Islamic philosophy.

In the eighteenth century, a thorough knowledge of Persian and Arabic guaranteed success in life. So Rammohun Roy was sent down to Patna to complete the prescribed course. Thus to his knowledge of Persian and Arabic was added a critical attitude towards the rites and rituals of Hinduism.

Service under the East India Company did him immense good. He improved his English and acquired new interests in social and political changes that were taking place beyond the shores of India. The American War of Independence and the French Revolution interested him most.



RAMMOHUN ROY

In 1814 he retired from service under the Company and settled down in Calcutta. His life in Calcutta was crowded with events of great social and political significance. For more than a decade Rammohun Roy busied himself with questions of reform in religion. He led a crusade against the orthodox school of Hinduism. He fought his opponents and won many battles.

In 1828 he founded the Brahmo Samaj. That was a triumph of Rammohun Roy's doctrine. Dwarkanath Tagore, grandfather of Rabindranath Tagore, was the chief supporter of the new religious society in the early period.

Now he turned to social questions, and the first evil he attacked was *Suttee* (burning of a widow with her dead husband on the same pyre). To burn a human being alive is as heinous as murder.



DWARKANATH TAGORE

While a boy, his brother died and the widow was burnt with the dead. It was a rude shock to Rammohun. He loved and respected the lady. That unhappy incident decided him to put an end to the barbarous system.

The anti-*Suttee* regulations issued by the British authorities did not prove effective. In three years about twenty-four hundred widows had been burnt alive in Bengal. In a single year widows burnt alive in Calcutta numbered about three hundred.

The cause of the failure of the regulations was simple. The orthodox section of the Hindus stood against the abolition of *Suttee*. They petitioned the authorities to repeal the regulations.

Rammohun Roy carried propaganda against *Suttee* and formed a vigilance committee to spy on the activities of the orthodox section. His propaganda bore fruit and the barbarous system was outlawed by Lord William Bentinck in 1829.



LORD BENTINCK

Far more important than abolition of the *Suttee* was Rammohun Roy's advocacy for the introduction of a modern system of education. That expressed the spirit of renaissance and meant a break with the past.

Rammohun Roy lived in an age of discoveries, and the greatest discovery of the age was the steam engine. With the introduction of the steam engine the face of England had changed and there dawned a new age of prosperity. Great changes had been brought about in the West by advancement in different branches of science. Science enables man to unravel the mysteries of the universe. As knowledge increases, man discovers new sources of joy and happiness. Rammohun was inspired with the new vision of humanity and sought to marry ancient culture with modern enlightenment.

Ancient scholarship had become barren. Its defects were many. It omitted science, history,

literature and other essential subjects. It trained one into a medieval scholar who could neither understand the problems of the new world nor face them.



DAVID HARE

Early in the nineteenth century education was not a responsibility of the British authorities. The Christian Missionaries ran a small number of schools where students could have lessons in science, literature and other subjects. Rammohun Roy stood by the missionaries and rendered active help to further extension of modern education. He co-operated with David Hare in founding the Hindu College (now the Presidency College). While the scheme



D'ROZIO

of the new College was being discussed, the orthodox section opposed Rammohun Roy's nomination to the Committee. He offered to withdraw to enable David Hare to work out his scheme.



CAPT. RICHARDSON

The Hindu College filled Bengal with an intellectual fire. D'Rozio, a half-caste Portuguese, joined the teaching staff. His life flamed out quickly. He remained an inspiration to the students. Another remarkable teacher of the College was Capt. Richardson. The D'Rozio School stood for the intellectual freedom of the individual. It was nourished on the spiritual diet of nineteenth century Europe. The foundation of another college by Alexander Duff (now the Scottish Church College) added to the number of rebels. Rammohun Roy was a great support to Duff in the early stage of the institution.

A number of young men who came under the influence of Duff embraced Christianity. They were men of outstanding ability and character. Of them Rev. Lalbihari Day wrote 'Folk Tales of Bengal' and 'Bengal Peasant Life'. For decades these were read by students in schools.



ALEXANDER DUFF

Another convert to Christianity was Madhusudan Dutt (1824-73). He was a student of the Hindu College. He belonged to the group of young men who aped the ruling class. That was indicative of a desire to free themselves from the dead weight of social customs. Michael Madhusudan Dutt was a man of erratic genius. He is



MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN

one of the few really great poets Bengal has produced.

Rammohun Roy continued his efforts in the direction of expansion of modern education in Bengal. He started two schools in Calcutta. These were free schools. The salaries of teachers and other expenses were a charge upon Rammohun Roy. 'Maharshi' Debendranath Tagore, father of Rabindranath, had his early lessons in one of these schools. Later he succeeded Rammohun to the leadership of the Brahmo Samaj and led the progressive movement in many spheres. A cultural organisation known as 'Tattvabodhini Sabha' was founded by Debendranath. Its mouthpiece, the famous Bengali periodical, 'Tattvabodhini Patrika', edited by Akshoy Kumar Dutt, brought a new and broad sweep of vision into the life of the Bengali people and greatly helped in the Renaissance of Bengal.



MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH

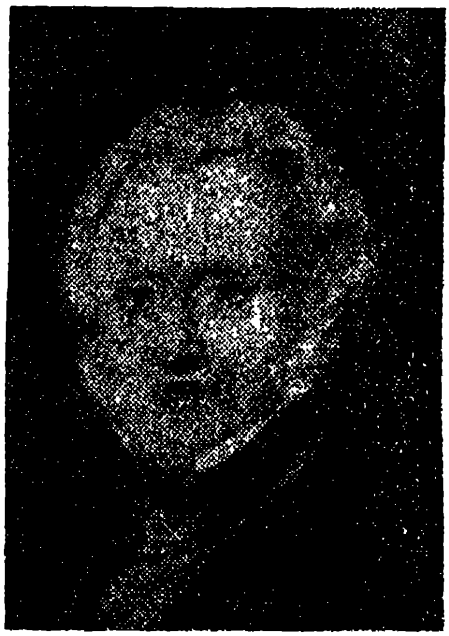
In 1823 the British authorities decided to take up the question of education of the native races. The policy was moulded by some Englishmen who were interested in ancient scholarship. They laid great emphasis on the promotion of 'Oriental' learning.

Rammohun Roy protested against the new policy. It was a scheme to deny benefits of modern knowledge to the people. He addressed a letter of protest to Lord Amherst, then Governor-General. He did not live long enough to welcome the introduction of modern education. He died in 1833 and two years later the 'Education Decree' was issued by Lord William Bentinck.

Rammohun Roy was the first writer to extend the province of Bengali prose beyond mere translation. In his days the standard of Bengali prose was very low and standard prose works were limited in number. These were either text books produced by the teachers of the Fort William College or translations of scriptures by the Missionaries of Serampore.

Rammohun Roy was a powerful journalist. He ran two periodicals, one in Persian and the other in Bengali. Both carried on discussions on social and political questions. His journalistic activities brought him into conflict with the British authorities.

A foreign government can exist and function only by denying democratic rights to the people. Criticism is hated and critics are punished. The British authorities were not slow to take action against the critics.



J. S. BUCKINGHAM

In 1799 Lord Wellesley ordered censorship of proof-sheets of periodicals. Here begins the story of encroachment upon the freedom of the Press. Censorship made criticism of the administration impossible. For the officer-in-charge of censorship was at liberty to delete whatever was considered objectionable by him. Additions to the rigorous codes were made by the successor of Wellesley. The system was abolished by Lord Hastings who laid down certain rules for the guidance of editors.

Early offenders against the Press regulations were European editors. The English journals were curiously personal and revelled in discussing private affairs of people. The offenders were punished.

In 1823 James Silk Buckingham, the editor of 'Calcutta Journal' and his assistant were deported to

England by the British authorities. This was done by an ordinance issued by the Acting Governor-General. The ordinance was not in order. Rammohun Roy protested against the deportation and challenged the validity of the ordinance. He organised public opinion against it and fought it in the Supreme Court. The British authorities were firm in their decision. Neither the Supreme Court nor the King-in-Council did care to right the wrong. It was the earliest struggle to preserve the freedom of the Press, and Rammohun Roy led it.

In 1829 Rammohun Roy was appointed Envoy to the Emperor of Delhi. The Emperor had fallen on evil days and was facing a financial crisis. He was paid a meagre stipend by the British authorities. The Emperor delegated Rammohun Roy to make a personal representation to the King of England.

At the end of 1830 he sailed for England. His stay in England brought him into direct contact with some of the leading thinkers of the age. His petition on behalf of the Emperor of Delhi was turned down.

Rammohun Roy fell ill on September 19, 1833. His physician and friends tried to nurse him back to health. He passed away on September 27 and lies buried at Bristol. That was the tragic end of a

noble career. Rammohun Roy's death in England symbolised the growing unity of East and West. He laid the foundation of a new culture, and modern India can very well be proud of it.

Rammohun Roy breathed the spirit of renaissance. It marched on and expressed itself in various forms of activities.

Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar (1820-91) was one of the few individuals who tried to translate the spirit of renaissance into new social ideals. He ranks next to Rammohun Roy in importance. Rammohun Roy had put an end to an ancient barbarity. Vidyasagar tried to do away with other inhumanities the Hindu society sought to preserve.

The system of *Suttee* had been banned. Did that mean an end to all forms of inhumanity to the Hindu widows ? The widow was denied the right to lead a normal life. Her remarriage was prohibited, and she was condemned to a life of perennial gloom and drudgery. Vidyasagar decided to end this inhumanity.

He ransacked the works of ancient Hindu scholarship and produced a thesis in support of remarriage of widows. The publication of the thesis in 1853 set the forces of reaction against him. He braved them and replied to them. He issued a revised edition of

the thesis. While the orthodox Hindu school led the campaign of opposition, the enlightened section of the Bengali Hindus was quick to advertise its acceptance of Vidyasagar's thesis. That brought a new social movement into being and it continued to gather strength.



PANDIT ISWARCHANDRA

A memorial to the British authorities asked to introduce legislation. It was signed by twentyfive thousand persons of different sections of the Hindu community. By the middle of 1856, marriage of the Hindu widow obtained legal sanction in the face of violent opposition by the orthodox school. Legal sanction did not kill the prejudices nor did it simplify the actual question of marriage. Young men and widows had to be searched out and wedded.

Vidyasagar was saddled with the financial responsibility of the new social experiment. That proved a drain on his resources and he ran into debts.

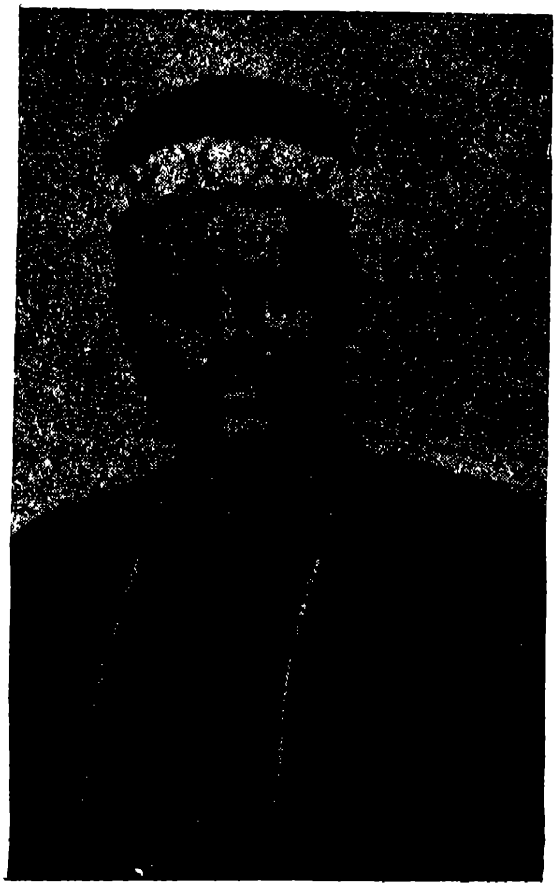
The Sepoy Mutiny put back the progress of the new social reform. The zeal of the reformers chilled and their ranks thinned. Vidyasagar, however, did never lose faith in his mission of mercy.

When internal order was restored, Vidyasagar planned to organise public opinion against polygamy in Bengal. A hundred years back polygamy entitled one to respect in society. Members of the uppermost castes of Hindus could sometimes boast of dozens of wives. The effects of polygamy were devastating. Neither the wives nor their children could claim the worth of human relationship. They lived and died in isolation and often the children roamed the countryside like waifs.

Vidyasagar visited a number of villages where the upper caste Hindus lived and polygamy was a living force. He produced an illuminating study on polygamy in Bengal and organised public opinion against it. It was cold-shouldered by the British authorities. The Sepoy Mutiny had shaken the basis of the Empire, and they were not ready to cause any conflict with the orthodox school.

Vidyasagar's sympathy for the poor and distressed and his generosity knew no bounds. He ran into debts for it. A most zealous social reformer, Vidyasagar was equally keen on the expansion of education. He founded the Metropolitan Institution

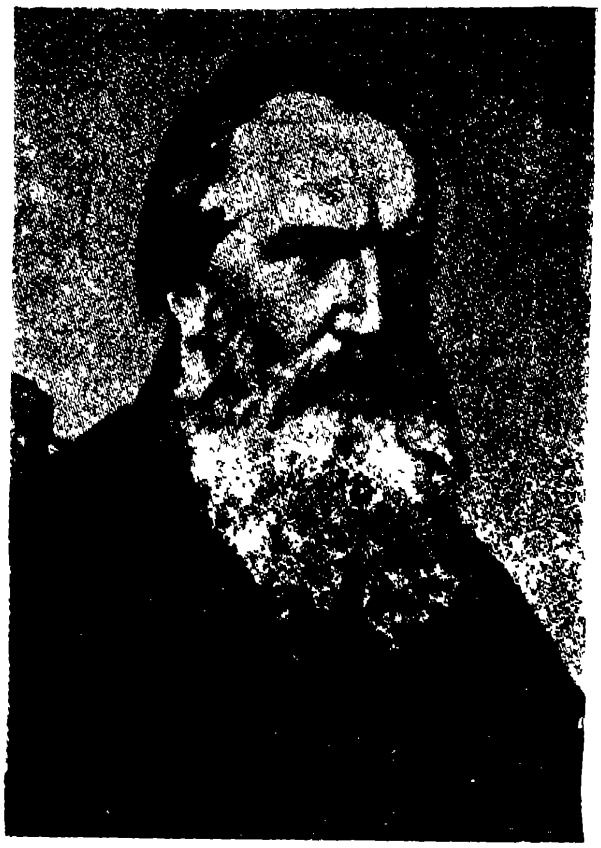
(now the Vidyasagar College). The College had a very efficient teaching-staff and some of the teachers rose to eminence in public life. The late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea joined the staff of the College when he was dismissed from the Indian Civil Service. Education in high schools and colleges was costly, and the common man could not afford it. So he put forward a scheme of spreading a net-work of model Anglo-Bengali schools in the villages. The scheme was accepted by the authorities.



Dinabandhu Mitra

The world of Bengali letters is indebted to Vidyasagar. What was Bengali prose before Vidyasagar ? It was uncouth and shapeless. Vidyasagar gave it meaning, order and form. He created a standard Bengali. It was neither overloaded with Sanskrit nor full of obsolete expressions. His language was close to life. It was lucid, precise, colourful and musical.

By the middle of the nineteenth century there grew up a critical attitude towards the disastrous effects of the foreign rule upon the rural economy of Bengal. An important literary product of the period, 'Nil Darpan' written by Dinabandhu Mitra, is a revealing commentary on the condition of peasants.



REV. JAMES LONG

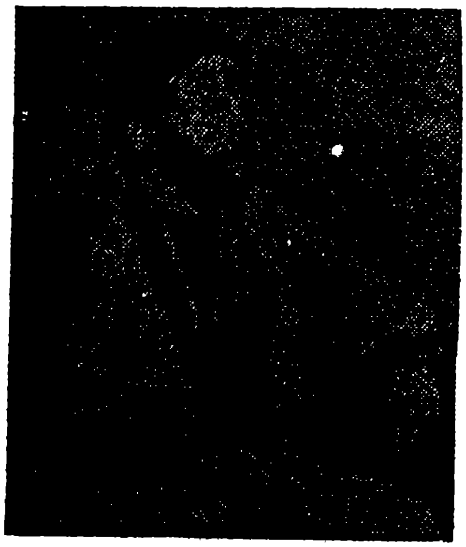
It is a drama. The theme is the tyranny and extortion that the Bengal peasants were subjected to by the European indigo-planters. The planters were brought from the West Indies and settled in Bengal by the East India Company. They revived a dying industry. Very few of them grew indigo themselves. They advanced money to the peasants and obtained raw materials. They were a lawless set and forced the peasants to sell their product at the lowest price.

In the fifties of the last century a movement against the indigo-planters swept the eastern part of

Bengal. It was a constitutional movement led by certain humanists, Indian and non-Indian. Prominent among them were the Rev. C. Bomwetchof of the Church Missionary Society of Santipur, the Rev. C. H. Bumhardt of Krishnagar, the Rev. James Long, Hurrish Chunder Mookerjee and Manomohan Ghosh.

'Nil Darpan' was put on the stage, and it was a great success. Rev. Long brought out an English version of the drama. The publication of the play in English brought the wrath of the planters upon him. He was charged with libel, fined and imprisoned for translating and publishing the drama. His fine was paid on the spot by the great Bengali translator of the *Mahabharat*— Kaliprasanna Sinha.

The drama was really rendered into English by Michael Madhusudan Dutt. He was then a Government official, and Rev. Long shielded him. Rev. Long was the official translator and publisher of the play and he faced the legal consequences.



DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE

The suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny consolidated

the basis of the Empire. The British authorities and the English commercial community were contemptuous of all things Indian. They could neither stand criticism, nor were they ready to redress the grievances of the people.



NABAGOPAL MITRA

Close upon the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny there came into being a new movement in Bengal. It was sponsored by Dwijendranath Tagore, the eldest brother of Rabindranath, and other members of the Tagore family and some of their friends. Of those outside the Tagore family associated with the organisation in the early stage the most notable was Nabagopal Mitra. Divorced from politics, the movement sought to create community sense among the Hindus.

Leaders of the movement employed a novel method to establish direct contact with the people. They summoned an annual conference, and the conference was named 'Hindu Mela'.

The first session of the conference took place in Calcutta on April 12, 1867. Quickly the conference became a living force in Bengal, and the number of visitors continued to increase. Topics discussed at the conference were varied. Revival of the ancient crafts and industries was aimed at the exhibition annually held under the anspices of the 'Hindu Mela'.

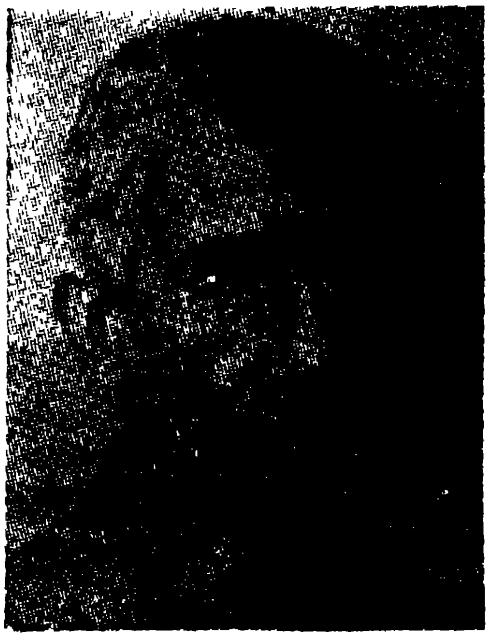


RABINDRANATH

Rabindranath Tagore at the age of fourteen read a poem at one of these annual gatherings. This was his first public appearance, and this was the first poem which appeared over his signature. It was published in the

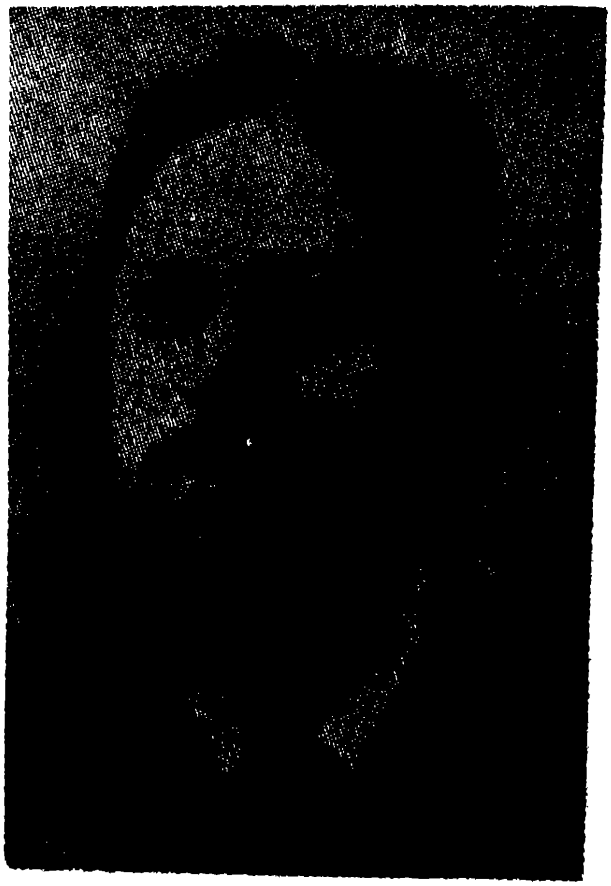
'Amrita Bazar Patrika', then an Anglo-Bengali weekly.

The 'Hindu Mela' was dwarfed by the Indian League. It was founded by Sisir Kumar Ghosh of the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' in 1875. The life of the League was short. It was soon eclipsed by the Indian Association, founded in 1876.

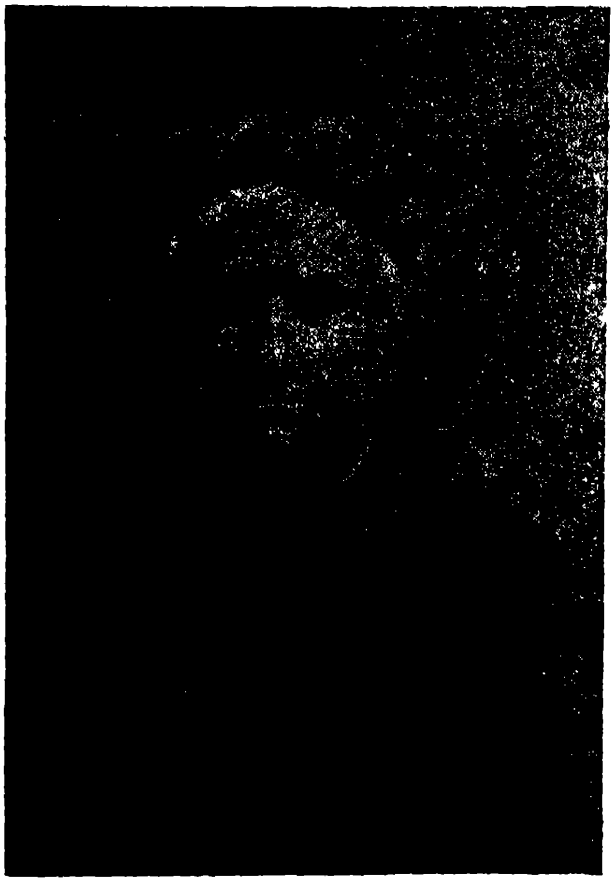


SISIR KUMAR GHOSH

The Indian Association grew into a representative organisation of the middle class. Ananda Mohan Bose, the first Indian Wrangler at Cambridge, was elected Secretary of the Association and Surendra Nath Banerjea was principal organisar. With him were closely associated Sivanath Sastri and Dwarkanath Ganguly.



ANANDA MOHAN BOSE



BANKIM CHATTERJEE



W. C. BONNERJEE

Surendra Nath Banerjea had a strange career. He was a member of the Indian Civil Service and was dismissed from the Service on a minor technical ground. That led him to take to politics and he became the tribune of his people. Surendra Nath toured India and preached the gospel of Nationalism far and wide. His ideal was the Italian patriot, Mazzini, and well may Surendra Nath be described as the 'Father of Nationalism' in India.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's famous novel 'Ananda Math' (1882) provided a great stimulus to the ideals of Nationalism.

The story of 'Ananda Math' had a symbolic appeal to the Bengali youth and the hymn to the mother —*Bande Mataram*— later came to be the battle-cry of the Bengali revolutionaries.

The 'eighties saw the rise of a politically conscious middle class in Bengal. It was the direct product of English education. It drew its inspiration from the political literature of England and had great faith in the English people.



GEORGE YULE

The famous Bengali lawyer W. C. Bonnerjee.



A. O. HUME

People belonging mostly to this middle class organised themselves into a political body and met in a conference at Bombay in 1885. That was the birth of the Indian National Congress.

presided over the first session.

Of the founders of the Congress, one was an Englishman, named Allan Octavian Hume. He was a member of the Civil Service and had retired in 1882. Hume devoted his time and energy to propagating in India the principles of the nineteenth century Liberals of England.

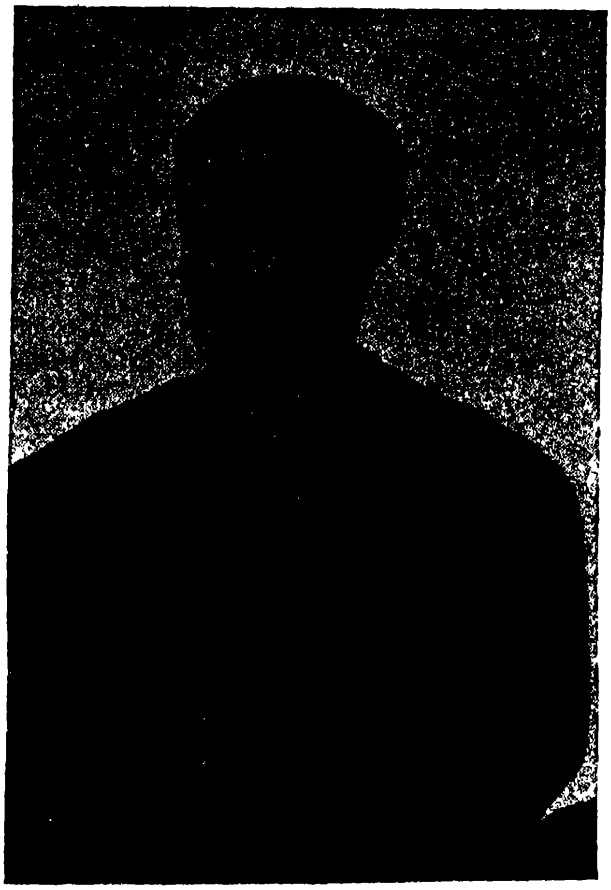
Some of the early Presidents of the Congress were Englishmen. One of them was George Yule, a Calcutta merchant.

Two great personalities of the period were Keshub Chunder Sen and Ramkrishna Paramhamsa. Both were God-intoxicated men.

Keshub Chunder (1838-1884) belonged to a well-known family of Calcutta. His grandfather, Ram Comul Sen, was a great Oriental scholar and was the earliest Bengali lexicographer. Keshub joined the Brahmo Samaj under Debendranath Tagore, and soon became his right hand in the propagation of Brahmoism.

To intense spiritual fervour Keshub Chunder added great gifts of oratory. This was a unique union of two rare gifts, and he employed these in the service of humanity. His oratory was like the river that flows on fed by a thousand rivulets. His smooth and winsome voice inundated an assembly with a flood of words, and the audience

surrendered to him. His speeches and sermons brought about a great religious awakening in Bengal, and the Brahmo Samaj movement became a living force. The new movement brought comfort and consolation to many assailed by doubts or wrecked by atheism.



KESHUB CHUNDER SEN

This is not all that Keshub Chunder Sen did. He tried to rebuild social life on new ideals of humanism and opposed whatever prevented the growth of happy human relationship in social life. He fought against the evils of early marriage in the Hindu society and advocated intercaste marriage. The Marriage Registration Act of 1872 owed much to Keshub Chunder. He founded schools and colleges for young men and women. He set up a new standard of journalism and established cheap newspapers in English and Bengali. He led temperance movement

and organised the industrial workers in and around the city to improve their moral and material condition.



SIVANATH SASTRI

The teacher turned an apostle and evolved a new faith. It was 'New Dispensation.' The new creed was a synthesis of all religions and incorporated their rituals and ceremonies. It introduced a new code of social behaviour. Before Keshub Chunder founded the new order he had parted company with his Master, 'Maharhsi' Debendranath Tagore. The rupture with the Master was followed by the desertion of some of his ardent followers. Of those who thus broke away from Keshub Chunder, the most important was Pandit Sivanath Sastri. He was a brilliant poet, an ardent nationalist and a fine speaker. Pandit Sivanath Sastri played an important part in the making of the new Bengal of the nineteenth century.

In 1870 Keshub Chunder visited England where his public addresses and sermons from the pulpits of the Unitarian Church created great interest in the preacher from the East. The strange visitor conquered the country where reason reigned supreme and non-belief had gained wide currency with the advancement of science. The Press showered encomiums upon Keshub Chunder, while leaders of thought found in him a new source of spiritual inspiration.



RAMKRISHNA PARAMHAMSA

On his return Keshub Chunder met Ramkrishna Paramhamsa, the saint of Dakshineswar, and introduced him to the Hindu intelligentsia of Bengal. Deep calls unto deep, and the two came to complement each other. They formed a fellowship of kindred spirits. In Keshub

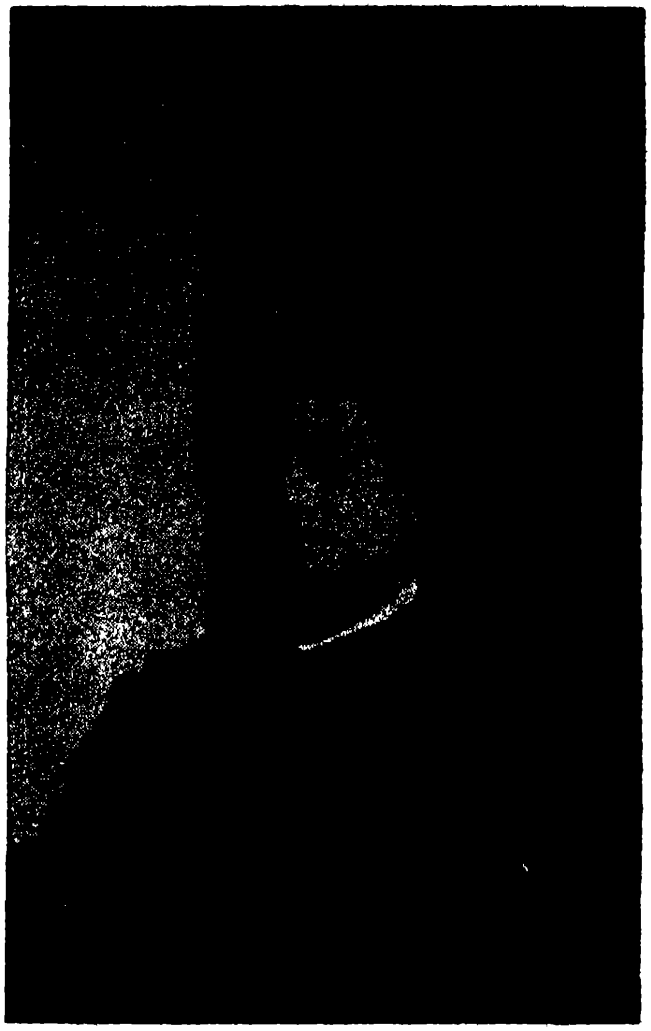
Chunder, the saint of Dakshineswar discovered the simplicity of a child who had submitted to the will of the Divine Mother. To Keshub Chunder, the saint was a fellow-traveller in the quest of truth. They were bound to each other by mutual regard and affection. When Keshub Chunder died the saint wept like a child.

Ramkrishna Paramhamsa was a unique phenemenon in the nineteenth century Bengal. This humble priest of Dakshineswar occupies a distinct place in the spiritual life of modern India. Strange was the personality of the saint and stranger was the story of his spiritual evolution. He passed through every form of religious practice and subjected himself to varied disciplines. In the end the great truth dawned : All religions are true and lead men from untruth to truth, from darkness unto light.

The very realisation of the unity of all religions opened up to him new frontiers of the spiritual world, and words of deep wisdom began pouring forth from his lips. He talked in parables like the prophets. of old and resolved spiritual problems in a manner so convincing that men of learning and of rank turned to the saint for guidance. A legend in the flesh, death conferred godhead upon the saint of Dakshineswer.

Of his disciples the most famous was Swami

Vivekananda (1863-1902), whose name was Narendra Nath Dutt before he joined the holy orders. Early in life he rejected Hinduism and its rites and rituals. He turned a free-thinker. That was a passing phase in his life. His visit to Ramkrishna Paramhamsa restored his faith in the religion of his forefathers. He accepted Hinduism with all its ancient practices and re-interpreted it. He re-emphasised the function of religion in social reconstruction. He became an emissary of Hindu culture and attended the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in 1893.



SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

His speech there created a stir and Swami Vivekananda leapt into fame. He founded a new

order and its members are dedicated to humanitarian service. Membership of the order is open to persons of all nationalities.



SISTER NIVEDITA

Sister Nivedita of Irish birth and parentage joined Vivekananda and dedicated herself to the service of the poor. She was a source of inspiration to many during the days of the *Swadeshi* Movement. Swami Vivekananda's influence upon the political movement was indirect. His speeches and writings inspired thousands of young men into noble action.

CHAPTER TWO

Clouds Gather

During the first decade of the present century Japan defeated Russia in the Far East. Japan's victory signified the rise of an Asiatic power.

It infected Bengal with anti-British feeling. That anti-British feeling found expression when Bengal was partitioned by Lord Curzon. Bengal opposed the partition and was resolved to demonstrate its opposition.

Surendra Nath Banerjea led the anti-partition movement. A conference held in Calcutta decided to boycott British manufactures. It was pooh-poohed by the English Press.

Its success was a revelation. The success was mainly due to the efforts of the students. To them Surendra Nath Banerjea was a prophet, and they communicated his message to the far off villages. They would not put on any foreign clothes, nor would they answer questions at examinations on books made of foreign paper. The boycott movement invaded the home, and women helped it.

The campaign against the partition continued. Surendra Nath and his associates visited far off villages to explain the significance of *Swadeshi*. The country was on fire.

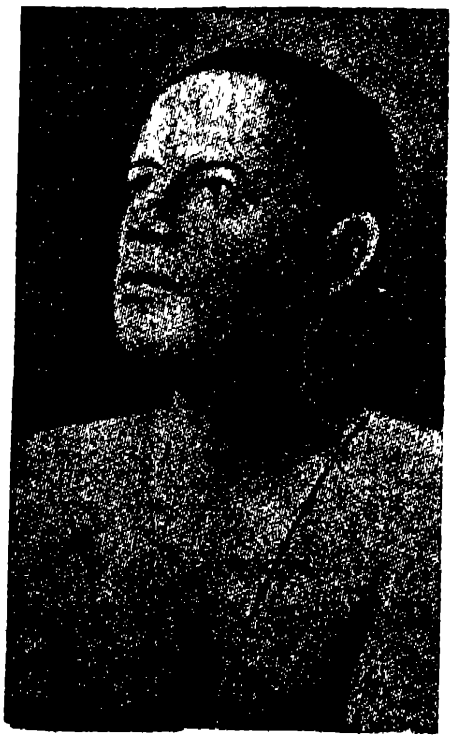


SURENDRA NATH

Bengal was throbbing with a new life. Rabindranath Tagore became the Poet of the new spirit. His poems and *Swadeshi* songs were on every lip. His orations moved thousands. The British authorities were determined to suppress the new movement. Students were punished for taking part in politics, and the shouting of *Bande Mataram* was banned in East Bengal. So *Bande Mataram* did what Dante's poems had done to bring about the regeneration of Italy under the leadership of Mazzini and Garibaldi.

Literature mirrored the spirit of the new age. Rabindranath ushered in it with his songs and his brilliant discourses. He preached the message of self-help and reconstruction of national life with the village as its basic unit. D. L. Roy, Girish Ghosh and Kshirod Vidyabinode contributed to the

new fervour by their patriotic plays. There were other song-makers also— Rajani Kanta Sen and Kali Prasanna Kabyabisharad. Bengali newspapers also contributed their share. Of these the 'Sandhya' and the 'Yugantar' were the most powerful. The 'Sandhya' was edited by Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya. His language was simple and direct. The weekly achieved a very wide circulation. The 'Yugantar' was edited by Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt, younger brother of Swami Vivekananda. It represented the revolutionary section of Bengali youth.



BRAMHABANDHAB



BHUPENDRA DUTT

Both the editors were prosecuted. Upadhyaya died when under trial, Dutt was convicted and imprisoned.

The *Swadeshi* movement provided a fillip to the expansion of industries. The weavers of Bengal were a dying class. Manchester had killed the weaving industry. The *Swadeshi* movement revived it.



ABANINDRANATH

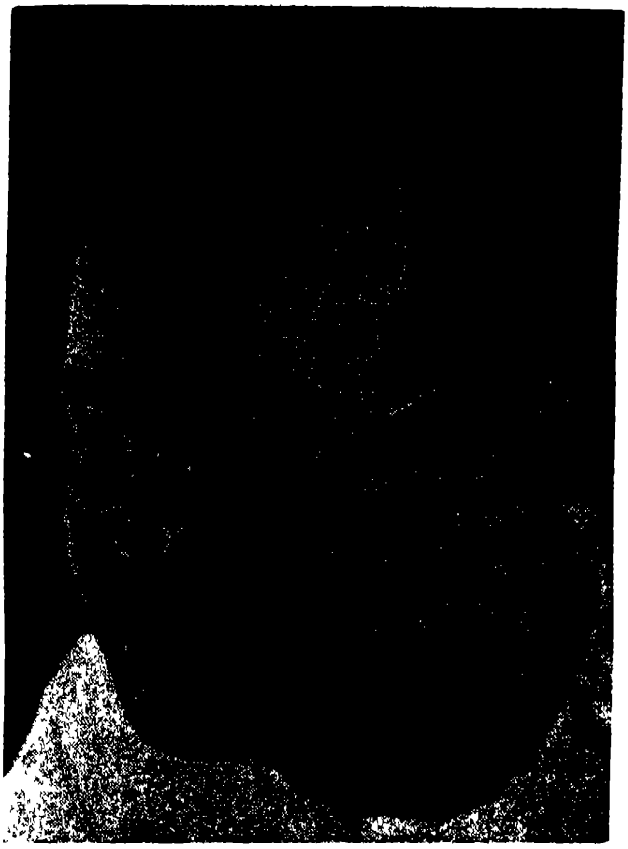
When Surendra Nath Banerjea visited a village in Hooghly, the weavers came to bless him. The Bengal boycott of foreign cloth helped the cotton mills in Bombay. The industry had a prosperous time.

Bengal had no cotton textile mill owned and managed by Indians. Funds were raised and a cotton textile mill at Serampore was purchased for a sum of eighteen lakhs. The mill was extended and named 'Bangaluxmi.'

It was followed by the formation of the Bengal National Bank. The Bank had a chequered career and closed down in 1927.

A few insurance companies were formed. Of these only the National and the Hindusthan Co-operative have survived.

The *Swadeshi* movement was in reality a movement of regeneration in every sphere. The spirit working behind it also led to the revival of Indian technique and form in art. The new Art movement was led by the Tagores of Jorasanko and the school soon won international recognition. Dr. Abanindranath Tagore is the founder of the new school and among his famous pupils are Nandalal Bose, Asit Kumar Haldar and Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury.



NANDALAL BOSE

On October 16, 1905 the partition of Bengal was put into operation. That was a day of mourning and prayer for Bengal. Neither food was cooked nor did the shops of the city open. Thousands paraded the streets of Calcutta and bathed in the Ganges. Bengal defied the territorial barrier and asserted her spiritual unity with the other part.

This spiritual unity found a very happy expression in the *Rakhi-bandhan* ceremony planned by Rabindranath Tagore, who specially composed for the occasion his famous song—*Banglar mati Banglar jal*, invoking Divine blessings for Bengal.

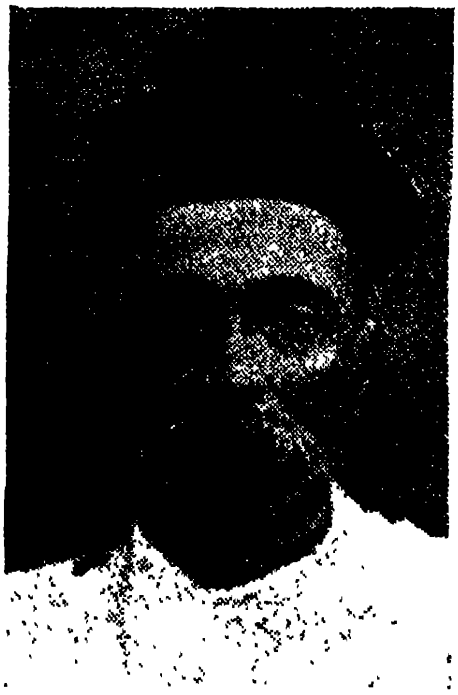


RABINDRANATH

The day was a great success. In the evening was held a meeting for laying the foundation of a memorial hall. Ananda Mohan Bose, a former President of the Indian National Congress, presided over the meeting. He was a victim of a deadly disease and his life was fast ebbing out. He was carried on an invalid chair. His speech was read out by Surendra Nath Banerjea and translated into Bengali by Rabindranath Tagore.

The campaign against partition came to a

climax when the Barisal Conference met. This Conference is an important event in the history of India. It marked the beginning of a new trend in Indian politics.



BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

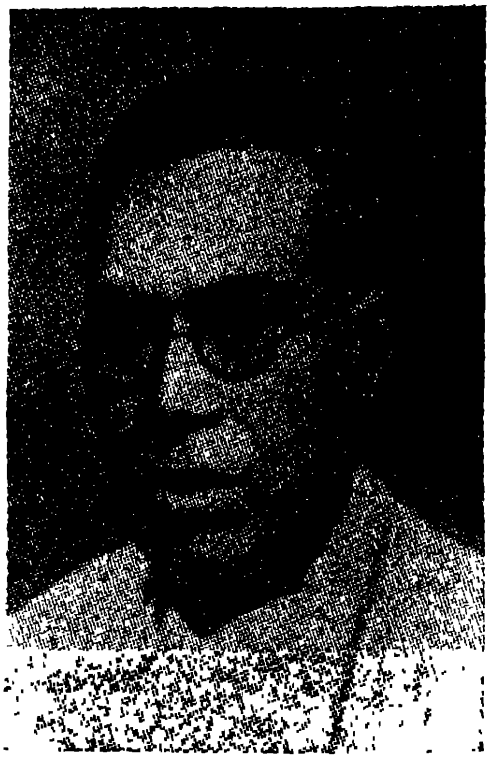
The shouting of *Bande Mataram* had previously been prohibited in the streets of Barisal and other parts of East Bengal. When a procession of delegates came out, the police fell upon it furiously. The procession was led by the wife of Mr. Abdul Rasool, a Muslim lawyer of Calcutta. She was an English lady. Surendra Nath Banerjea rushed to the rescue of the victims of police violence. He was put under arrest by the Superintendent of Police and was produced before the District Magistrate. He was fined four hundred rupees on two counts. The Conference was banned.



DADABHAI NAOROJI

The futilty of petitions and prayers to Government

for redress of political wrongs led to the formation of a new group within the Indian National Congress. In 1906 the Congress met in Calcutta. The new group was led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal stood for an all-round boycott of the British Government. The President of the session, Dadabhai Naoroji, prevented a rupture between the old and the new group. The session pledged itself to achieve *Swaraj*.

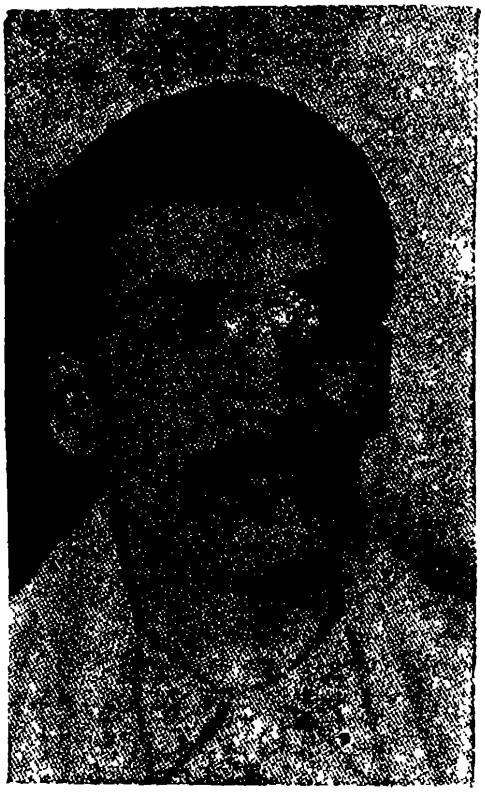


BIPIN CHANDRA PAL

In Bengal the revolt against old leadership was organised by Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh. Both are great names, and India is indebted to them.

Bipin Chandra Pal was the philosopher of the new gospel of Nationalism. He could be compared with the French Encyclopædists. There was hardly any subject on which he could not write with authority. His scholarship was profound and his mind was extremely logical. He started the English

daily 'Bande Mataram' in 1906. It was the most powerful exponent of the new Nationalism that Bengal gave to India. It pointed out the limitations of Self-Government within the Empire. Bipin Chandra Pal was a great orator. He was the first to demand for India absolute autonomy free from British controls.



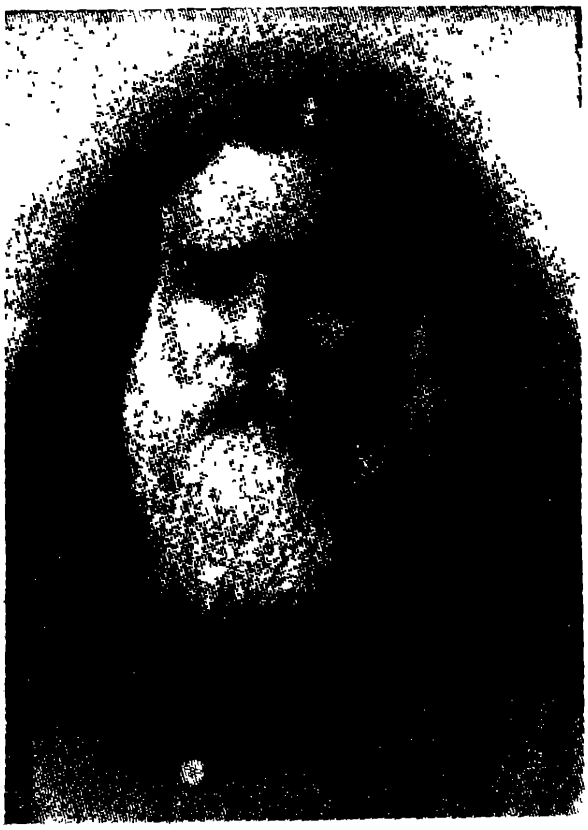
AUROBINDO GHOSH

Aurobindo Ghosh was excluded from the Indian Civil Service on account of his failure to pass a riding test. He accepted Vice-Principalship of the Gaekwar's College at Baroda, and worked there for more than a decade.

During the early days of the *Swadeshi* movement he resigned and came down to Calcutta. He was appointed Principal of the National Council of Education. The Institution was founded to conduct the education of the young on independent lines.

In 1907 Aurobindo Ghosh succeeded Bipin Chandra Pal as editor of the 'Bande Mataram.' His active political life was brought to a stop in 1908 when he was arrested on charge of high treason along

with many others. The trial lasted long and goes down in history as the 'Alipur Conspiracy Case'. The trying Judge was Beachcroft. He was with Aurobindo Ghosh at Cambridge.



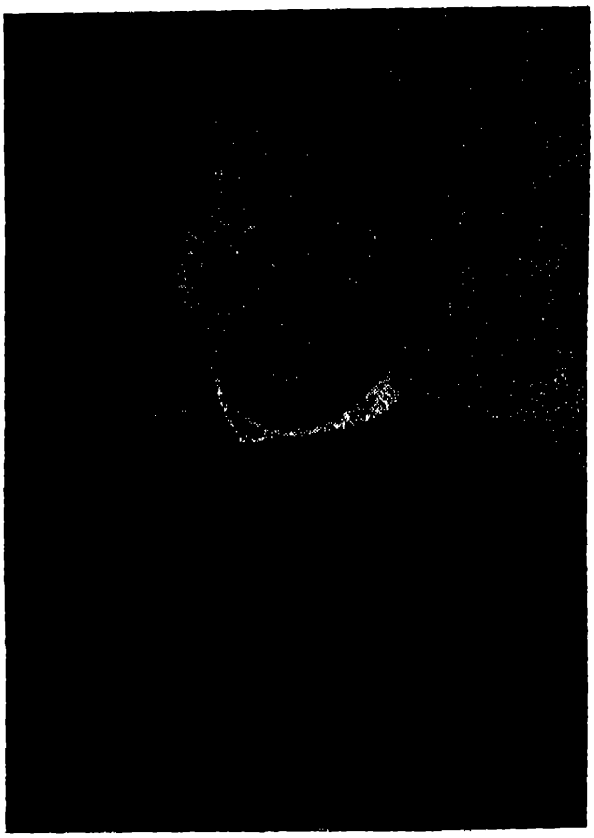
KRISHNA KUMAR MITRA

Aurobindo Ghosh was successfully defended by C. R. Das. Shortly afterwards Aurobindo left politics for a life of meditation and prayer and settled down at Pondicherry. He is one of the foremost thinkers of the world.

The British authorities also took action against the leaders of the Anti-Partition Movement. Krishna Kumar Mitra, the redoubtable editor of 'Sanjivani', Aswini Kumar Dutt, the 'uncrowned King of Barisal' and others were deported under a 'regulation' of 1818.

To this policy of repression the reaction of the young was violent. They vowed vengeance against he foreign rulers and banded themselves into revo-

lutionary groups. Earliest of these groups was the 'Anushilan Samity'. It was founded by Pulin Das and P. Mitra. Another revolutionary group was the 'Yugantar Party'. It was founded by Bhupendra Nath Dutt and his friends. Physical culture was the professed objective of these organisations, and the *Geeta* was the guide of the members. They were taught to build themselves up on the ideals of the *Geeta*. The growth of the revolutionary movement was not limited to the province of Bengal. Secret organisations had been also formed in Maharastra. These subscribed to a common ideal.



RASHBEHARI GHOSE

The new group challenged the leadership of the Liberals and tried to purge the Indian National Congress of all elements of liberalism. The 'Moderates', as these Indian Liberals were called, had sensed the revolt. But for a pretty long time they were not

ready to face the 'Extremists' as the new group within the Congress was described.

The annual session of the Congress (1907) was put off and the place of the meeting was changed from Nagpur to Surat. Rashbehari Ghose, a 'Moderate' leader, was elected President of the session in preference to the leader of the new group, Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The session turned into a pandemonium. The 'Moderates' closed it down and expelled the 'Extremists' from the Congress. They won the day and the Congress was yoked to the principle of Self-Government within the Empire.

While the 'Moderates' were busy wooing the British authorities, the revolutionary movement blazed up in Bengal and other parts of India.

Numerous British officials were killed by the revolutionary groups. These followed large scale arrests and the prosecution of members of the revolutionary parties. The earliest and the most sensational case was 'Alipore Conspiracy'. The Report of the Sedition Committee (1918) furnishes an account of the revolutionary activities in India and abroad during the first two decades of the present century.

CHAPTER THREE

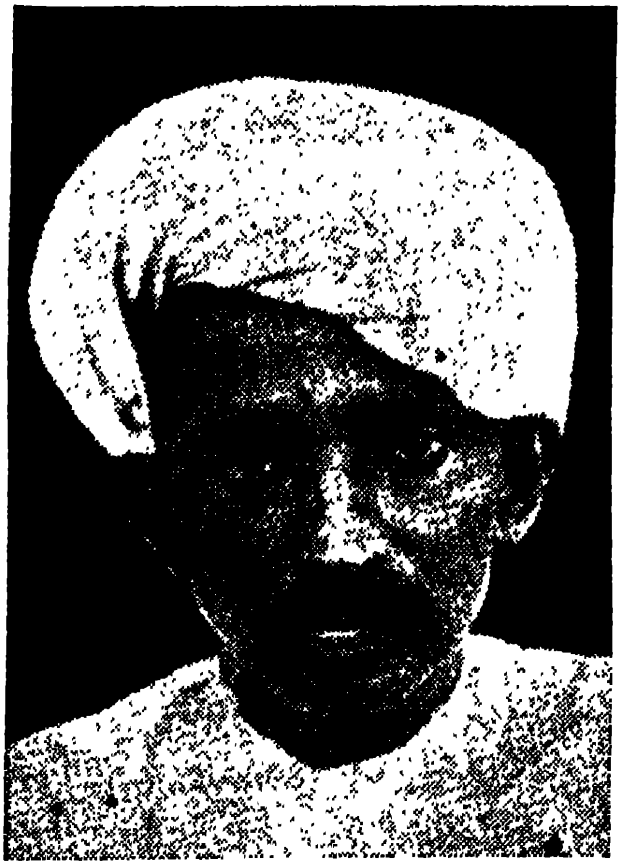
The Storm Bursts

The First World War broke out. Events moved swiftly. Liberalism failed to hold its own. The revolutionary movement trailed off into inanity. The 'Moderate' leaders trusted England. That did not bring them any nearer to the realisation of Self-Government within the Empire.

The return of the 'Extremists' once again to the Congress fold at the Lucknow session of the Congress (1916) turned the Moderates into a vague political group. They were important because of their individual ability. Many of the top-rank Liberals belonged to the province of Bengal and had presided over many annual sessions,of the Congress.

In the post war period Gandhism replaced Liberalism in Indian Politics. Gandhism. became a doctrine of action and changed the methods of political struggle. What did make Gandhism a dynamic doctrine ? Its growth can be understood only in relation to the internal conditions at the end of the First World War.

The War was over, and with it had lapsed the Defence of India Act and other emergency measures. The war had bequeathed a legacy of bitterness, and internal discontent was growing. The British authorities read the changing attitude of the people and got themselves rearmed with special powers.



M. K. GANDHI

The Rowlatt Commitee was set up to investigate into the origin and growth of Revolutionary movement in India. The Commitee recommended trial of political cases without jury and detention of persons without trial.

When recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee were passed into law India opposed the introduction of repressive measures. The opposition was organised and led by Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi decreed a day of fasting and of suspending all business.

It was the first countrywide political *Hartal*. That day a procession was intercepted by the police at Delhi. It was followed by a series of riots in other parts of India. The British authorities put down riots with primitive brutality.

Mahatma Gandhi was anxious to stay violence and called off the movement. But the British authorities had decided upon a policy of retaliation. Blood was on their hands and they were determined to 'teach the Natives a lesson.'

Public meetings were banned. It so happened that a meeting was held in an enclosed space known at Jalianwalla Bagh at Amritsar (April 13, 1919).

General Dyer marched a detachment to the entrance and ordered his men to open fire upon the unarmed crowd. His men 'did the job well.' About four hundred persons were killed and twelve hundred wounded. This was the official estimate of casualties. Actual figures were much higher.

His action was approved by the Punjab Government and Martial Law was declared through the entire province. On the following day aeroplanes flew over Gujranwalla and machine-gunned a small crowd to death.

People were made to crawl in the streets. Flogging was a common punishment, and it was

inflicted for very minor offences. General Dyer was rewarded instead of being punished. He was presented a purse of rupees three lakhs by his friends and admirers in India and England.

India was appalled by the Amritsar massacre. It proved a turning point in history. This double-edged folly of the British ruling class had brought India to the verge of another mutiny. India was seething with discontent. While feeling was running high, it lacked organised expression.

Bengal was the first to protest against the atrocities in the Punjab. The protest was demonstrative and was recorded by Rabindranath Tagore.

The iron of humiliation had gone deep into his soul, and he grew restless as the details of atrocities were reported to him. In vain did he try to organise a campaign against the authors of the massacre. The political parties failed to line up with him. May be they were not organised enough to work out his suggestions. So Rabindranath Tagore did what an individual should on ethical grounds. He entered a moral protest and renounced his knighthood. He addressed a spirited letter to the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford. The letter is a historical document and expresses the pain of disillusionment of the humanity of the British ruling class in India.

Internal unrest was further intensified by the rapid growth of the Khilafat movement. The Khilafat movement was a direct offshoot of the First World War.



MOHAMMAD ALI

Turkey was an ally of Germany in the First World War and war against Turkey was opposed in principle by the Muslims in India. Turkey was the palladium of the faithful Muslims, and the Sultan of Turkey was the spiritual head of the Muslim world. His sword was a proof against the vagaries of the infidel.

The Khilafat movement owed its existence to Mohammad Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Both started their political life in Calcutta. To the city of Calcutta they owed much.

Mohammad Ali was non-Bengali. He chose to settle down in Calcutta because of the political importance of the city. In Bengal political life was vigorous and the climate was conducive to the growth of new ideas. Mohammad Ali was educated at Oxford. He could not get through the Indian

Civil Service Examination. On return to India he served in the education department of certain native states. In 1910 he resigned and brought out 'The Comrade' from Calcutta. It was a weekly organ and was suppressed during the war.

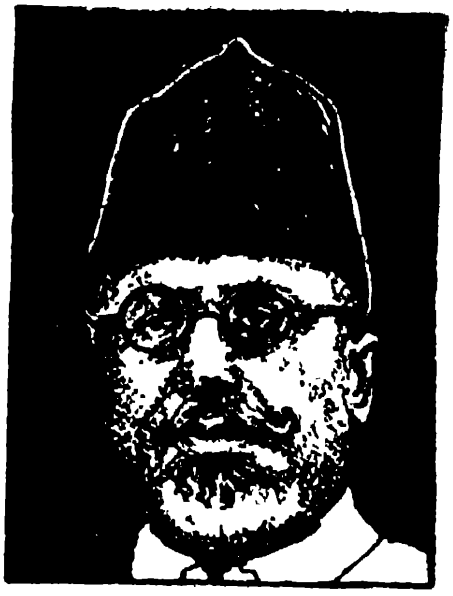
Maulana Azad was born in the city of Mecca in 1880. His father left India in the days of the Sepoy Mutiny. He is a renowned scholar of Islamic theology. Maulana Azad was educated at Mecca and Azhar, the principal centre of Islamic learning.

He returned to India when his father was dead. He founded the 'Al Hilal', a Urdu weekly. It was written in a moving and forceful style. The weekly was radical in view and its influence was great. Azad's view shocked the orthodox section of Muslims. They were leagued against the weekly. The 'Al Hilal' had a weekly circulation of 25,000 copies when it was suppressed. Both the Ali Brothers and Maulana Azad were detained without trial through the entire period of the war for the open championship of Turkey's cause.

Defeat of Germany sealed the fate of the Sultan of Turkey, and the rule of the Sultan came to an end. The Sultan stood stript of power and authority. The Turkish question

stimulated a new agitation in India and it continued with renewed force.

Release of Ali Brothers and Maulana Azad from detention added to the vigour of the movement Mohammad Ali was an able organiser and under his leadership the Khilafat grew into a powerful body. It was an aggressive body and its following was determined and itching for action.



ABUL KALAM AZAD

Mahatma Gandhi shaped the Khilafat agitation into a common movement against the tyranny of the British authorities. He offered to resist assault upon the religion and conscience of the Muslims. He planned to lead a moral revolt against the Government.

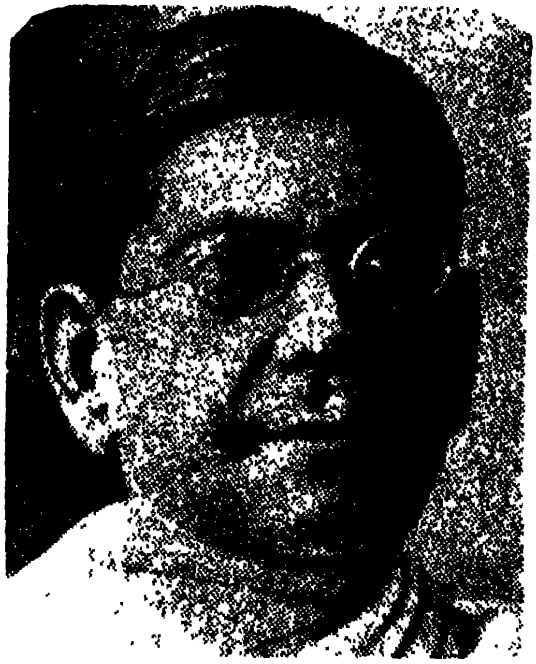
The Government had committed many wrongs, and had become satanic. He said : It is better to die in the way of God than to live in the way of Satan. Therefore, whoever is satisfied that this Government represents the activity of Satan has no choice left to him, but to dissociate himself from it.

This, in short, was the moral basis of the Non-Cooperation movement. Principles of Non-Co-operation were accepted by the Indian National Congress in 1920.

Mahatma Gandhi breathed new light and life into the people. He stood like a rock of salvation. His programme of Non-Cooperation against the Satanic system of government had the influence of a semi-divine command. It expressed the oriental scorn for that which we call modern civilisation. It gripped India. Mahatma Gandhi reduced the abstract theory of Non-Cooperation to a programme of action against the foreign government. The programme of Non-Cooperation included surrender of official titles and honours, refusal to participate in Government loans, boycott of law courts, of schools and colleges, of foreign goods.

The programme of Non-Cooperation was only an amplification of Mahatma Gandhi's social philosophy. Cardinal principles of his social philosophy are : 'Modern civilisation must needs be eradicated like a fell disease. Doctors deepen degradation and hospitals propagate sin. Law courts and legal practitioners unman those who resort to them. Railways carry man away from his Maker. Parliament is a costly toy. The sole

end of rightly directed human activity should be the freedom of the individual self.



C. R. DAS

Bengal tried to carry out the programme of Non-Cooperation to the fullest extent possible and rushed into action. C. R. Das gave up legal practice when his monthly earnings averaged rupees fifty thousand. Once noted for his love of food and drink, C. R. Das imposed austerity upon himself and lived like an Indian ascetic. The Non-Cooperation movement had brought about a spiritual transformation of his personality. It was the beginning of a new pilgrimage.

Round C. R. Das gathered thousands of young man. They were intoxicated with the dream of a new world to be and belonged to the army of selfless warriors dedicated to the greatest of man's credo— Freedom. They lived and died for the ideal.

Of them one was Subhas Chandra Bose. His was a strange career. At sixteen he ran away from home and wandered in the jungles at the foot of the Himalayas. In his college days he protested

against the racial arrogance of an English professor and was punished with expulsion by the authorities.



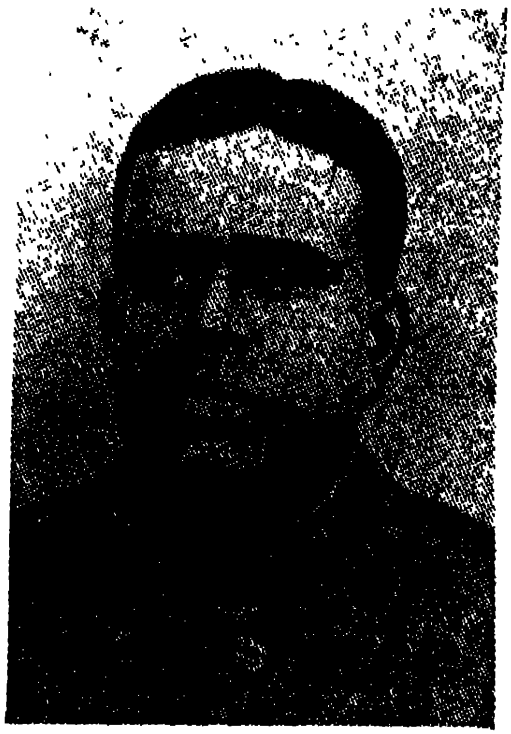
J. M. Sen Gupta

He went to Cambridge and graduated with honours and passed third in the examination for the Indian Civil Service.

He was in England when anti-British feeling in India matured into the programme of Non-Cooperation. He read of the great awakening and the rise of the leadership of C. R. Das in Bengal. Subhas Chandra Bose resigned the Indian Civil Service. He hurried back to India and offered to work under the guidance of C. R. Das.

Two other associates of C. R. Das were J. M. Sen Gupta and B. N. Sasmal. They were lawyers by profession. J. M. Sen Gupta led the Assam Bengal Railways strike in the early period of the Non-Cooperation movement. B. N. Sasmal led a no-tax campaign in Midnapore.

In Bengal boycott of educational institutions was spectacular. As schools and colleges emptied out the National College was founded to conduct education of the young on the correct principles. Subhas Chandra Bose was appointed principal of the college and on the teaching staff were a number of able teachers. Many of them were members of the provincial education service and had resigned to make the programme of Non-Cooperation a success.

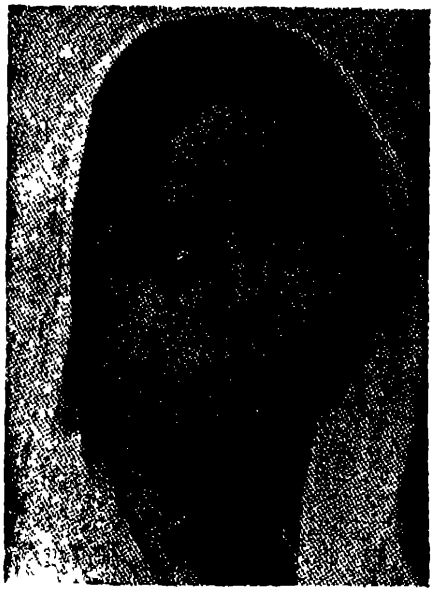


B. N. SASMAL

The programme of Non-Cooperation did not progress on the strict principles of non-violence. There had been sporadic outbreaks of violence. The movement was on the wane, and leaders were worried.

Boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales (now Duke of Windsor) in the winter of 1921 renewed the waning movement. The day on which the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay, Mahatma decreed a suspension of all activities. The *Hartal*

was a unique success in Calcutta due to the Co-operation of the Khilafat organisations.



BASANTI DEVI

The Anglo-Indian Press was panicked. It suggested immediate action against the leaders of the movement. The Government banned *Hartal*, public meetings and demonstrations.

Bengal decided to defy the ban. As volunteers went out hawking *Khadi* in the streets they were put under arrest. The new movement was led by Subhas Chandra Bose and the son of C. R. Das. Both were arrested and imprisoned.

The movement gained momentum and the number of volunteers continued to swell. The arrest of Basanti Devi, wife of C. R. Das and other ladies caused wild excitement in the city. They were set free late at night. That quickened the pace of the movement. Prisons were filled with political prisoners.

The British authorities were alarmed and decided to eliminate Deshabandhu from active political life. He was arrested and imprisoned. That intensified the movement. Prison adminis-

tration faced a break-down due to the shortage of living space. General release of political prisoners was ordered by the Government. When released, prisoners would not leave their cells. So they were often tricked into walking out. Arrest of demonstrators was abandoned. Demonstrators were taken to far off places and let off late at night. That was a physical torture and they were compelled to walk back to the city.

The annual session of the Congress was held at Ahmedebad (Christmas, 1921). The President-elect, Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das, was in prison. His incomplete address was read out. Mahatma Gandhi was appointed Dictator. He decided to meet the policy of repression by a new method of mass civil disobedience. It was a conditional decision. He tried to wring out a promise of change of official policy and wrote to Lord Reading to ascertain his view (February 1922).

On February 4, a mob of three thousand men led by Congress volunteers massacred twentytwo policemen in the United Provinces. Mahatma Gandhi was horrified at the news and suspended the movement. That was the moment Lord Reading chose to pounce upon the man who had prevented the outbreak of a violent revolution in India. On March 10, Mahatma Gandhi was arrested on a

charge of sedition, convicted and sentenced to a term of six years' imprisonment.

The dream of *Swaraj* in one year faded away. Disillusionment crept into the ranks of the Congress. It set the leaders searching out new techniques to organise opposition to the foreign authorities. Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and a few others decided to cause a break in the programme of the Congress. The Congress had decided to boycott elections to the legislature. Deshabandhu and Pandit Motilal Nehru suggested participation in the elections. For they were bent upon wrecking the constitution by organised opposition inside the legislature.



MOTILAL NEHRU

The annual session of the Congress met at Gaya in the winter of 1922. Deshabandhu was the President of the session. He proposed parti

cipation in elections. His proposal was voted down. On the concluding day of the session Pandit Motilal Nehru announced the formation of the *Swaraj* Party. The new party represented a group of rebels inside the Congress. It was a very strong group led by powerful personalities. Slowly internal opposition quietened down and participation in elections was sanctioned by the Congress. Deshabandhu triumphed over the orthodox section and the *Swaraj* Party led the opposition most effectively.



DESHABANDHU

In his own province Deshabandhu could not command a good press, So he launched 'Forward', an English daily. The daily achieved a wide circulation within a short period. Its news service was varied and up-to-date. The daily developed a skill in the art of exposing official secrets.

In the Bengal Legislative Council the *Swaraj* Party was the most well-organised and inflicted many

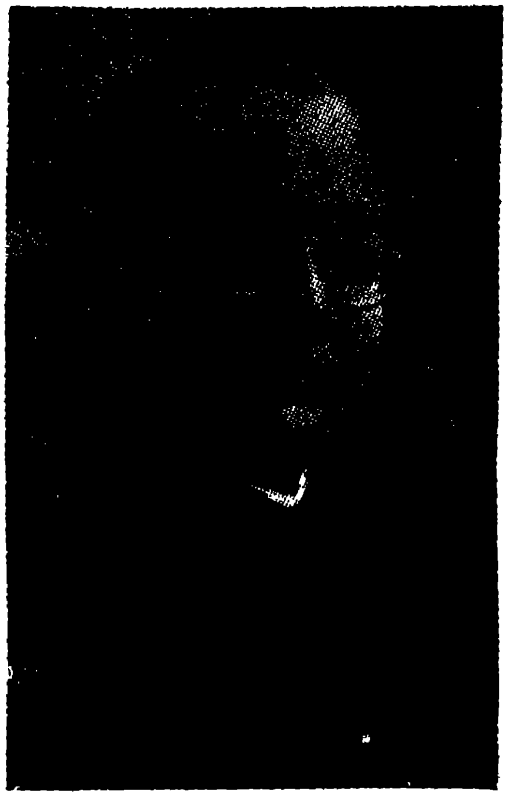
defeats upon the Government. The *Swaraj* Party voted against salaries of ministers and other items of the budget. Twice in 1924 and once in 1925 the appointment of ministers was voted down by the *Swaraj* Party.

In 1925 when the council met Deshabandhu was ill and was carried to the Council Chamber. His presence was a tonic to others. The Government was defeated and ministers were compelled to lay down office. Thus working of the reform of 1919 was brought to a stop. The office of minister was abolished and the Reform was mutilated.

The British authorities decided to break the morale of the opposition. By the end of October (1924) Subhas Chandra Bose and some members of the *Swaraj* Party were spirited away by the police. They were detained without trial in Mandalay prison in Upper Burma. By an ordinance several hundred Congress workers and young men were detained without trial. The whole of Bengal was turned into a prison house.

Subhas Chandra Bose was the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation when he was arrested. The Corporation protested against detention without trial. Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das said : This is a clear illustration of what I consider to be violence on the part of Government. They

have passed a law which is a lawless law. We protest against this Act, this is destructive of the fundamental rights of man.



SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Subhas Chandra Bose was detained in Burma for four years. He was released from detention when his health broke down and an official medical board recommended his release. While Subhas Chandra Bose was in detention a calamity befell Bengal. Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das passed away on June 16, 1925. His death brought to a close the activities of the *Swaraj* Party. His presence was a corrective to deviation. It reinforced loyalty and strengthened sense of discipline. Slowly the rank of the *Swaraj* Party was breached and an important member of the *Swaraj* Party (the late S. B. Tambe of the C. P.) was bribed into accepting a position in the Government.

It was a period of political sterility. While Mahatma Gandhi stayed away from active politics,

the Congress undertook to frame a model constitution of India. An important development of the period was the growth of the youth movement in Bengal and other parts of India.

The movement was pioneered by Bengal and fostered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. By the end of 1927 Pandit Nehru returned from a long tour in Europe. While away in Europe he studied the working of various political forces and acquired a thorough knowledge of problems of the changing world. His mind was full of new ideas. He was eager to communicate new ideas to the young. His speeches and writings also opened up the mind of young India to the importance of studying foreign policy and national movements in other countries. He became an exponent of socialism in India.

In Bengal the growth of the youth movement started earlier. It was rooted in the ideals of the *Swadeshi* movement and its ambition was trained towards the attainment of freedom of India. The movement was led by certain political groups that failed to see eye to eye with the Congress on vital questions. They had organs to propagate their views. These were anti-British in tone and advocated direct action against the foreign rulers.

Growth of youth movement in Bengal coincided

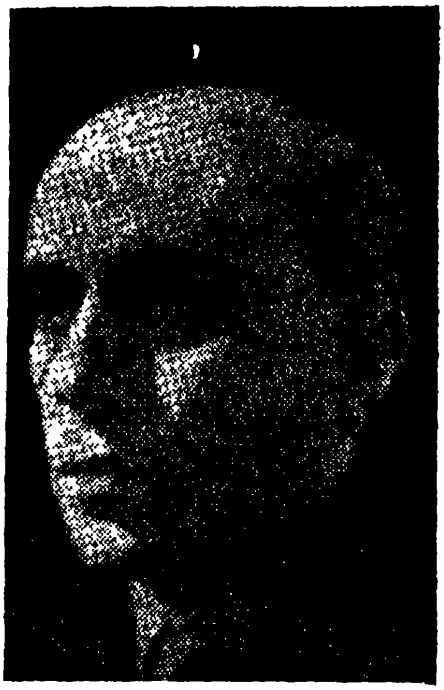
with the formation of a new type of political organisation. Towards the end of 1925, Labour *Swaraj* Party was founded by a section of congressmen. The objective of the party was attainment of complete independence based on social and economic equality. Its organ, the 'Langal', suspended publication after fifteen issues. Kazi Nazrul Islam was on the editorial staff of the weekly, and some of his best poems were written during this period.

In Bengal the youth movement spread rapidly. It brought about an alliance between the Congress and students in general. The alliance was strengthened by the joint demonstration against the visit of the Simon Commission to the city of Calcutta. The Commission was appointed by the British Parliament (1927) to conduct an inquisition into India's fitness for Self-Government. Exclusion of Indians from the personnel of the Commission revealed the motive.

The Simon Commission was boycotted by the Congress and other political organisations in India. As the Commission moved from city to city the Congress organised demonstrations against it. The Commission was greeted with black flags.

In Calcutta, the demonstration against the Commission was most spectacular. The day on which the Commission arrived in Calcutta students stayed

away from classes and greeted the Commission with black flags. The police fell upon the students furiously. Leaders of the demonstration were punished and some of them were expelled by the authorities.



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

That made the students more aggressive. They organised themselves into permanent bodies. In 1928 All Bengal Students' Conference met in Calcutta. It was presided over by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Expansion of the youth movement indicated the rise of an extremist section inside the Congress. The extremist section stood for direct action and refused to parley terms with the foreign rulers.

When the annual session of the Congress was held in Calcutta in the winter of 1928, the extremist section opposed the official resolution. The resolution limited India's demand to Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth. The young insurgents were led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. Mahatma Gandhi intervened and made certain additions to the

original resolution. The amendment was defeated by 357 votes. There was a steady rise in the barometer of political consciousness. That was an achievement of the youth movement.

As the year (1929) drew to a close, Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax) issued a statement on the future constitutional changes in India. He promised Dominion Status. It was a vague promise. Mahatma Gandhi saw through the statement and refused to be taken in by it. He knew that there was thunder in the air and it might break out violently. He wanted to stave off the outbreak of a violent revolution.

When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was elected President for the Lahore session of the Congress (1929), Mahatma Gandhi welcomed the young President. For Pandit Nehru represented the youth of the country and the year had been a year of youth's awakening. The son had succeeded the father to the Presidency. It was symbolic of a new era in Indian politics.

The Lahore session decided to achieve independence by non-violent struggle. Thus the old conception of Dominion Status was jettisoned. Mahatma Gandhi took over the control of the movement. He defined the stages of the movement and laid down principles to guide it.

Mahatma Gandhi chose the most effective line of attack. He decided to defy the salt-law. Defiance of the salt-law had a direct appeal to the common man. Price of salt had been increased by the former Viceroy, Lord Reading, though the *Swaraj* Party had opposed the increase in price.

It was a recent event and the memory was living. Announcement of his decision suddenly released a new spring in the country and defiance of the salt-law became the topic of the day.

When Mahatma Gandhi started on his historic march to Dandi (March 12, 1930) on the sea coast, people collected pots and pans to begin illegal manufacture of salt on the appointed day. As Mahatma Gandhi moved from village to village accompanied by the band of his trusted followers, the campaign acquired a new moral significance. It took three weeks to reach Dandi on the sea coast where Mahatma Gandhi violated the salt-law.

That set the movement in motion and illegal manufacture of salt started in various parts of India. The march to Dandi had a good press in India and abroad. It advertised India's opposition to the foreign rule. The British Government committed another folly and arrested Mahatma Gandhi on May 5, 1930.

In Bengal, thousands of students volunteered

to defy the salt-law. Illegal salt manufacture started in various parts of the province. Reading out of proscribed literature was an alternative to salt manufacture. The late J. M. Sen Gupta was imprisoned for reading illegal literature in a public place.



MAHATMA GANDHI

Defiance of the salt-law was supplemented by non payment of taxes, boycott of foreign cloth and liquor shops. In Bengal, women volunteers took it up and brought the trade in foreign cloth to a standstill. The boycott was extended to British institutions like banking and insurance. Clive Street faced a crisis of an

undefined character. The movement owed much to the technical skill supplied by Indian businessmen who were determined to drive out their rivals in trade. In the district of Midnapore and certain parts of West Bengal non-payment of tax brought the administration to a standstill. Peasants took part in it, and the authorities retaliated. Villages were raided by the armed forces. Tenements were burnt down and women were mobbed.

While India was in the thick of the fight against the Government, the British Prime Minister summoned a conference to examine details of future constitutional changes in India. Interest shifted from India to London. The conference opened in the month of November 1930. It was unrepresentative for the Congress had stayed away.

The conference turned into a parade of sycophants. The Indian Princes and reactionary Muslims took part in the conference. The British Cabinet realised the limitations of the deliberations and tried to secure participation of the Congress.

Early in 1931 Mahatma Gandhi and members of the Congress Working Committee were set free. Mahatma Gandhi was granted an interview with the Viceroy, and the 'half-naked fakir' strode up the steps of the Viceregal lodge to parley on terms of equality. Mahatma Gandhi signed a pact with

the Viceroy, and a truce was called to the non-violent revolution in India.

Political prisoners (not charged with violence) were released and the boycott was withdrawn. The annual session of the Congress was held at Karachi. The Congress decided to participate in the deliberations of the Conference. Mahatma Gandhi left for London in August 1931.

The truce did not ease the tension in Bengal. The province of Bengal was ruled by ordinances. About three thousand young men were detained without trial. Detention without trial followed violence against the people. Acts of violence committed by the agents of the Crown are too numerous to be catalogued.

The Civil Disobedience movement released a wave of anti-British feeling in India. While the Congress followed the principle of non-violence, the Bengal revolutionary groups planned armed rebellion against the authority. On the night of 18th April 1930, the Chittagong Yugantar. group carried out a daring raid. Four batches of young men set out all in khaki and leaders were dressed as officers. They shot down the guards at the armouries and rearmed themselves with new weapons. Another group raided the telegraph office and hacked the telephone-board to pieces. When

Government reinforcements reached Chittagong they retired to the neighbouring hills. Numerous skirmishes between the Government forces and the rebels took place, and many of them were shot dead. The leaders were untraced. One surrendered in Calcutta in June, and in August three others were arrested and one shot dead at Chandernagore. The principal leader, Surjya Sen, was arrested in 1933, tried by a Special Tribunal and condemned to death.

The Chittagong Armoury Raid led to the revival of revolutionary activities in other parts of Bengal. During 1930-34 numerous high officials were killed by the revolutionaries. The movement died out as the Bengali middle class realised its futility.

In 1931 when a police officer was murdered at Chittagong, the authorities engineered a communal riot and hooligans ruled. They looted properties and molested women.

A public meeting held in Calcutta appointed a committee to enquire into the causes of the riot. The committee conducted investigations and came to the conclusion that the riot had been brought about by the passivity of the officials. The late J. M. Sen Gupta named the officials in a public meeting. The Government did not care to contradict the contents of the report. Long

after the incident an official enquiry was held and some officers were punished.

At Dacca, when the murder of a District Magistrate was frustrated, residential quarters of leading citizens were combed by the armed police. Men and women were subjected to humiliation and robbed of valuables.

Subhas Chandra Bose formed a committee to investigate into the excesses committed by the police at Dacca. When he arrived at Dacca, he was put under arrest and externed from the district of Dacca. He defied the order and travelled back to Dacca. He was again arrested and put in prison. The committee concluded the investigation without Subhas Chandra Bose and issued a report. The reprt throws light on the working of repressive policy in the province of Bengal.

More barbarous than these was the firing inside the detention camp at Hijli. The official statement said that the detenus had attacked the staff and the latter had been forced to fire on the detenus in self-defence. Two detenus were killed and many injured. The news shocked Bengal.

Radindranath Tagore protested against the brutality committed by the keepers of the detention camp. He presided over a public meeting held in Calcutta. The staff was given a clean bill of health

by the commandant of the camp. Agitation continued and the Government was compelled to appoint an enquiry committee. It was composed of judicial officers. The findings of the committee were against the staff of the detention camp.



RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Immediately after the Hijli firing Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru hurried to Calcutta to study the situation.

During the period of the truce the Government of Bengal issued an ordinance. The ordinance put an end to civil administration in certain parts of Bengal and British troops were quartered to strengthen the administrative machinery.

The district of Chittagong was ruled by military laws. Curfew was declared in various parts of the district and use of bicycles by Hindu young men was prohibited. Curfew was followed by the introduction of identity cards and issue of the identity card was controlled by the intelligence officers. A Hindu youngman without an identity card was liable to prosecution. Collective fine was imposed upon many villages. Troops were marched through the villages and village headmen were ordered to organise reception to the army. The ordinance was extended to the districts of Mymensingh, Dacca and Midnapore and the army laid itself out to break the spirit of the people.

The Congress respected the terms of the truce, while the authorities violated these in Bengal. That created a complex situation and the Bengal Provincial Congress met in conference to discuss the situation. The conference suggested renewal of Civil Disobedience.

The London Conference disappointed Mahatma Gandhi. He returned to India by the end of December 1931. Lord Irwin had relinquished the office of Viceroy. His successor was Lord Willingdon. The new Viceroy had been instructed to abandon the policy of conciliation. He did it. Mahatma Gandhi sought an interview with the Viceroy to discuss the

situation in Bengal and certain other provinces. The Viceroy declined to meet Mahatma. That was the end of the truce. Early in 1932 the Mahatma was once more lodged, as a State Prisoner, in Poona jail.

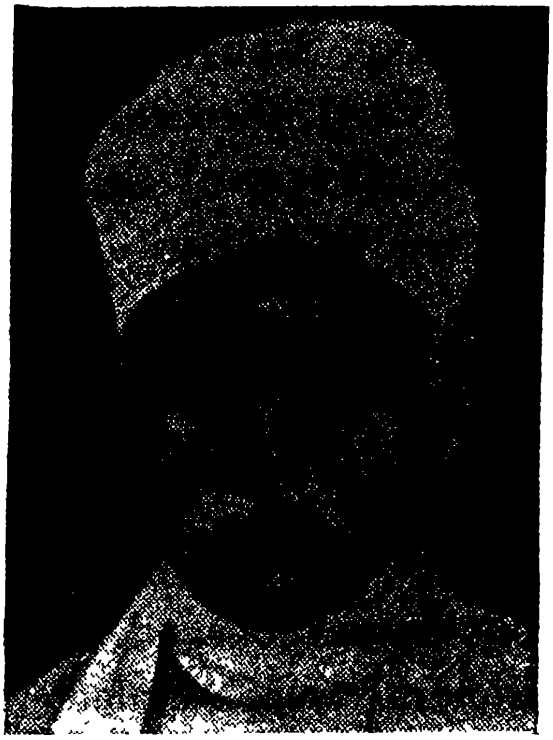
The Congress was declared illegal and leading members of the Congress were arrested. Every sort of activity was proscribed and funds of the Congress were confiscated. The Press was shackled and publication of any kind of news about the movement was banned.

In Bengal there were additions to emergency measures. Subhas Chandra Bose and his elder brother Sarat Chandra Bose were arrested and detained without trial. J. M. Sen Gupta was made a State Prisoner at Bombay on his return from Europe.

Repression failed to kill the spirit of the people. Brave men and women continued to defy the authority of the foremost Imperial power on earth. Repression continued without break and with increasing intensity.

Celebration of the Independence Day (January 26, 1933) set the movement in motion. That day the police arrested several hundred persons in Calcutta and used force to break up demonstrations. In the district of Hooghly the police fired upon the demonstrators.

Though banned, the annual session of the Congress was held in Calcutta in March. The President-elect was Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Pandit Malaviya, Sjt. Aney, the mother of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other prominent leaders were arrested on their way to Calcutta and lodged in prison. Delegates from different parts of India evaded police vigilance and travelled down to Calcutta.



MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA



NELLIE SEN GUPTA

The annual session was held under the Presidentship of Mrs. J. M. Sen Gupta. While the session was in progress, the police rushed to the scene and arrested Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta and four hundred delegates. The assembly was broken up by the use

of physical force. The struggle toned down and stabilised itself at a low level.

In May, Mahatma Gandhi announced suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Suspension of the movement led to the discharge of the Congress prisoners.

On the surface India was calm and underneath discontent was smouldering. The situation in Bengal did not change. The whole province was a prison house. Detention of persons without trial continued and detenus numbered about three thousand. A few hundred revolutionary prisoners were exiled to the Andamans. The Government was vindictive and determined to write the lesson with whip on the sullen flesh of the people.

Deshapriya J. M. Sen Gupta died in detention in July 1933. Subhas Chandra Bose was permitted to leave India to undergo treatment in Europe when his health broke down through years of detention. It was a sort of banishment from India.

Early in 1934 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Calcutta. He addressed public meetings and condemned the official methods of repression. He was greatly moved by the accounts of events in Bengal and spoke from a full heart. What pained him most was the manner in which

human dignity had been outraged by indiscriminate suppression of the whole population. His criticism angered the Government. He was prosecuted and imprisoned.

Suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement did not mean surrender to the foreign authorities. The Congress remained the symbol of India's passionate desire for freedom and behind it stood millions. The Congress returned to the days of Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das and decided to continue the fight inside the legislature. It adopted the line of constitutional opposition only to expose limitations of the new reform.

By 1935 the British Parliament decided to work out the recommendations of the commissions and conferences that had worked over half a decade and took legislative measures to speed up the introduction of the new reform. The Act of 1935 formed the basis of the new reform. The Act was riddled with safeguards. On the authority of the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors there were no checks. They could legislate and veto in direct opposition to the decision of the legislature. The whole structure of government remained unchanged and in the middle of it were a few ministers elected under the new Act.

The Congress decided to participate in the

elections under the new Act. Its success in the elections was spectacular and the election campaign had been conducted most efficiently. It improved the morale of the people and ended the period of inertia.

By the middle of 1937, Congress Governments were formed in eight out of eleven provinces. The remaining provinces were Sind, Bengal and the Punjab. These were centres of reaction.

In Bengal the Congress was the largest single majority party in the legislature. It could not form the Government because of special reasons. In Bengal the European commercial interests had a heavy representation in the legislature, disproportionate to the population. They were alloted 25 seats while the total non-Muslim populatiou of 17 millions had 50 seats. The European group played an important part in the formation of the ministry and determined the policy of the Government.

In Bengal the Government was formed by the Krishak Proja Party and Muslim League. The Government derived strength from the European group in the legislature and therefore did not adandon the policy of repression.

While the Congress Governments had set free all classes of political prisoners, the Bengal Government did not bother itself with the question of

release of detenus and political prisoners, For the European group was not ready to give any quarter to those who had plotted to overthrow the Empire. There were several thousand detenus, men and women, kept in prison without trial since 1930. In addition to the detenus, there were a few hundred revolutionary prisoners condemned to a life of perennial gloom in the far off islands—the Andamans.

Detention killed J. M. Sen Gupta. And Subhas Chandra Bose was exiled in Austria where his movement was watched by the members of the British Foreign Service. Though not permitted to visit England he was elected President of a political conference convened by Indians in London. His speech was read at the conference. The Government of India took action and banned the text of the speech in India. During his stay in Austria Subhas Chandra Bose completed an account of India's struggle for freedom. When the book was published in London, the Government of India banned it under the Sea Customs Act.

Towards the end of 1934 his father fell ill. Subhas Chandra flew back to India and when he landed at Karachi air-port his father had died As he reached Calcutta he was ordered to leave India within seven days. He returned to Austria by the end of 1934.

Subhas Chandra decided to end the period of exile imposed by the British authorities. He returned to India against the will of the British authorities and was arrested and interned at Kurseong. He was set free in March 1937.



SUBHAS CHANDRA

Subhas Chandra was elected President of the annual session of the Congress held at Haripura in 1938. His election to the Presidentship was not a recognition of individual ability. It was a recognition of what Bengal had done to further the cause of national liberation.

Subhas Chandra's election to the Presidentship spurred the extremist sections to new forms of activities. They tried to organise themselves into an effective opposition with the active support of Subhas Chandra Bose. He was with the extremists and tried to prop them up. His Presidential address was militant in tone. It examined the future of Indo-British relations and advocated severance of

all relations with the Imperial power. His personal view did not change the policy of the Congress. Nor was he eager to impose himself upon the Congress. He followed the official policy obediently.

Years of repression had created a sense of frustration in Bengal. Subhas Chandra tried to provide an antidote to frustration. He renewed political life in Bengal and made it vigorous. He undertook to wreck the new reform and decided to move a censure motion against the Government.

In Bengal the Government derived its strength from the European group and functioned as the agent of reaction. Its policy had not benefitted the people in the least. It fanned the spirit of communalism. So People nursed grievances against the Government.

Subhas Chandra Bose organised an expression of grievances. The censure motion was defeated by few votes. The Government stayed in office. Of little political significance, the censure motion focussed attention of the people upon the reactionary structnre of the new reform.

Subhas Chandra Bose sought re-election to the Presidentship of the Congress in 1939. The issue of his re-election divided the Congress. The old leadership opposed his re-election. He was re-elected. It was made possible by the propaganda of

various extremist groups inside the Congress. His re-election was a challenge to the old leadership. The old leadership took it up and Subhas Chandra was compelled to resign Presidentship in May 1939.

Subhas Chandra Bose was free to act. He undertook to organise the extremists into an effective opposition and the Forward Bloc was brought into being. The organisation was a loose combination of political groups and individuals and tried to develop a policy of active opposition to war-efforts.

By the middle of 1939 the world stood on the brink of a catastrophe. Hitler had annexed certain countries of Europe without formal declaration of War. Great Britain tried to buy peace with Hitler and followed a policy of appeasement. The policy of appeasement was doomed and war was inevitable. Subhas Chandra Bose had an earnest desire of the future and was determined to follow a policy of active opposition when the war would break out.

Congress' approach to war was different. It developed a dual policy in regard to war. It opposed aggression by Fascist powers and was in sympathy wtth the victims of aggression. The Congress had supported the cause of the Spanish Republican Government while Great Britain and

France rendered passive support to Franco. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Spain and paid a tribute to the brave warriors of Republican Spain struggling to defend the life and liberty of the people.

The Congress was ready to take part in any war to stop aggression. The offer of cooperation was conditional. Freedom was the essential condition of cooperation in any war-efforts. Without freedom the war would have been a war of old days fought to preserve the Empire.

The Congress had fought against imperialism and could not line up in the defence of the system. So the Congress stood for freedom. That alone could have released the energy of the people and converted the past bitterness into sympathy. The Congress demanded that India should not be committed to any war without the consent of the people or their representatives.

The British Government did not pay any regard to what the Congress had suggested. In the summer of 1939 an emergency legislation was rushed through the Indian Legislative Assembly. It armed the British authorities with special power to face any emergency.

On September 4, 1939 the Second World War broke out. That day India was committed to the war by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. The Viceroy

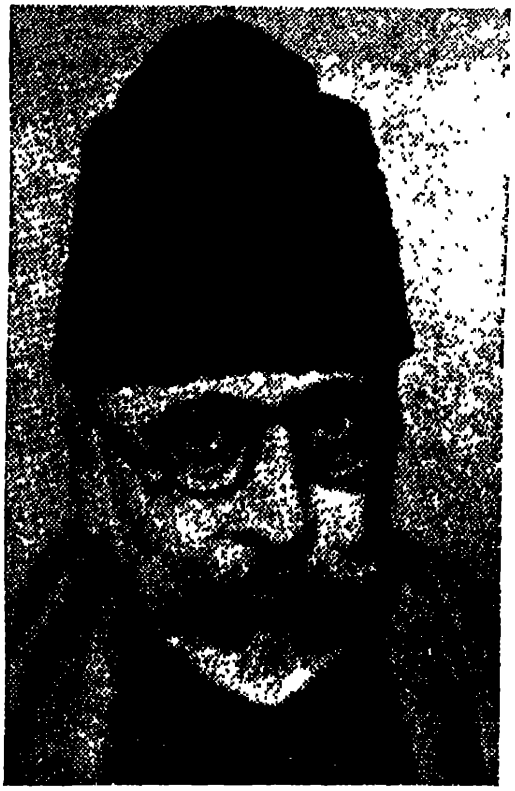
was a representative of a hated system and he had no moral right to impose the war upon the people. Pandit Nehru who was in Chungking flew back to India. The Congress Working Committee met and defined its attitude towards the war. The Congress offered to cooperate in the war-efforts on the principles of equality. It was an assertion of democratic right.

The Viceroy received the statement and interviewed as many as fiftytwo personalities. They represented various political parties and groups in India. On October 18, the Viceroy issued his own statement. The statement was full of ambiguities. One sentence of the statement ran into 136 words and another into 89 words. The composition was monstrous and left a savage impression upon the people.

The British authorities rejected the offer of cooperation. The Congress Governments in eight provinces resigned in protest and the Provincial Legislatures were suspended. The Governors ruled aided by the members of the Indian Civil Service. The Defence of India Act was used to suppress normal political activities and arrest and imprison people without trial.

The Congress met at Ramgarh under the Presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The

Congress decided upon Civil Disobedience. When the Congress met at Ramgarh, Subhas Chandra Bose convened another conference of extremists. The Conference decided to follow a policy of non-compromise with the British Government.



ABUL KALAM AZAD

The Congress put off the programme of Civil Disobedience as the situation in Europe continued to deteriorate. The fall of France shocked many in India. People's reaction to the debacle was varied. There was an undercurrent of sympathy for France. Senseless bombing of Great Britain by the Germans distressed Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders.

The Congress made another attempt to arrive at a settlement with the British Government. The attempt failed. That compelled the Congress to take positive action. The action was in the form of Individual Civil Disobedience. It was the opposite of mass Civil Disobedience

and was designed to register moral protest.

The individual Civil Disobedience started in a very small way. On October 17, Vinoba Bhave made the first anti-war speech at a village near Wardha. He made similar speeches at other villages on the three following days. He was arrested and sentenced to three months' simple imprisonment. He was followed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Pandit Nehru was sentenced to four years' imprisonment. The Press was forbidden to report the progress of the campaign. Mahatma Gandhi protested against it and suspended publication of the 'Harijan'. In December the Individual Civil Disobedience was called off by Mahatma Gandhi.

Much earlier Subhas Chandra Bose led a campaign of mass civil disobedience in Bengal. The campaign started on the demand of removal of the Holwell Monument. The monument was constructed to commemorate the Black Hole Tragedy. Subhas Chandra Bose was arrested and detained under the Defence of India Rules. Every day parties of volunteers approached the monument with object of damaging the monument and were arrested. By the end of July several thousand volunteers had been arrested. The movement spread among the student community in Calcutta. The Muslim students staged a demonstration.

The demonstration was broken up by the police. The Provincial Government agreed to remove the monument. The movement was called off and prisoners were released. Subhas Chandra Bose was detained without trial and was granted conditional release in December when his health broke down. On January 26, 1941 he disappeared from his home. That was the end of his active political life in India.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Battle Won

Early in 1942 Burma had fallen and the Japanese army stood at the gateway of India. Streams of refugees began to pour into India. They spread stories of British inefficiency and racial discrimination in Burma. As the refugees continued to trek across the mountains and through forests thousands died of starvation and fell diseases, or were killed by robbers.

With British withdrawal from Burma, Bengal stood exposed to chances of Japanese invasion. The authorities took precautions. In Eastern Bengal thousands of boats were destroyed. That was done to deny the 'enemy means of communication. The destruction of boats denied the people means of transport and of livelihood.

There was a growing belief that the British authorities were incapable of putting up any resistance to Japanese drive into Eastern India. The belief expressed the common man's attitude towards the Empire.

Why did the Empire break up so quick in Malaya and Burma ? Was that simply due to the shortage of fighting men and materials ? The Empire broke up because the colonial system destroyed initiative and self-respect. It spawned hatred and denied equality of race and elementary human rights.

The common man in India was indifferent to the outcome of the war. That attitude of indifference was rooted in the evils of the colonial system. There was a wide gulf between the people and authorities. The authorities did not care to bridge up the gulf between themselves and the common man.

Bengal was another pageant of folly and futility. When the Japanese dropped a few bombs upon Calcutta, the city was denuded of working population. Thus Calcutta was crippled by the shortage of workers and essential services faced a breakdown as Rangoon had.

What were Bengal's chances of resisting Japanese invasion ? Three fifths of India's production of war materials was located within two hundred miles of Calcutta. Principal centres of iron and steel industry lay on the west of Calcutta. These were unprotected. The city of Calcutta had only fortysix anti-aircraft guns.

Of the approaching perils the British authorities were aware. They failed to adopt an effective method to prepare the country against the peril. There were additions to the number of high officials. Many of them had cut a sorry figure in Burma. They divided their time between Delhi and Simla. They moved like shadows on the stage. They had no sense of reality nor could they offer the Government right suggestions. The old bureaucratic machinery functioned. It was clogged by miles of red-tape.

The nearness of the war changed the internal situation. The Congress was ready to play an effective role in the critical period of history. It abandoned the jail-going business. It was ready to cooperate in the war-efforts and defence of India with effective control in the formulation of policy. That could make the people feel that it was a national war-effort.

The British approach to the Indian problem was different. It was largely determined by the composition of the British Cabinet. For individuals make differences. Mr. Churchill was the head of the British War Cabinet and Mr. L. S. Amery was the Secretary of State for India. Both are conservatives by birth and were, therefore, incapable of any democratic approach to the Indian question.

In March 1943 Mr. Churchill made an announcement in the British Parliament and Sir Stafford Cripps flew to India with the proposals of the British Cabinet. Sir Stafford Cripps was noted for his sympathy with Indian aspiration. In the early days of the war he visited India and met many of the Indian political leaders. Though outside the British Cabinet, he realised the moral and political significance of having India on the side of Great Britain in the war.

The proposals dealt with the future, after the cessation of hostilities. The final clause of the proposals had a vague reference to the present. The future proposals extended the right of self-determination to the provinces. The provinces were permitted to stay within or outside the Indian Union. The same right was extended to the princes.

The Congress leaders were more interested in the present and tried to settle the question of defence of India. The proposals made it clear that the defence of India must remain a charge of the British Government. Control of other departments was discussed. Sir Stafford Cripps repeatedly stated that except defence all other departments would be transferred to Indian control. It was hinted that the Viceroy might function as the

constitutional head of the Government, like the King of England.

Could a National Government function in time of war without the control of defence of the country? If defence was not within the scope of the National Government, very little was left to be done by the Government. The Congress leaders pointed out the limitations of the proposal. Sir Stafford Cripps agreed to the appointment of an Indian minister in charge of the Defence Department. Actual control of defence was entrusted to the British Commander-in-Chief, while the Minister was assigned odd jobs. Subjects to be dealt with by the Defence Minister included public relations, amenities for troops, printing and stationery, social arrangements for foreign missions. The list was long and made the position of the Indian minister ludicrous.

Sir Stafford Cripps went back upon what he had said on the function of the Indian ministers in charge of other departments. He said that there would be no change in the existing structure of the Viceroy's Executive Council and additional Indians would be appointed to the Council. The Council was in no sense a Cabinet. The Viceroy would continue in office with all bureaucratic powers and the Congress leaders could enlist themselves as

camp-followers to look after the canteens and the like. The British Cabinet proposals were rejected by the Congress and other political parties.

The Cripps' Mission failed. Reaction was violent and bitter. Frustration and bitterness continued to mount up. The Congress tried to kill the frustration that had dogged India since the outbreak of the war. There was no chance of cooperation between the Government and people, while the invading army was at the Eastern Frontiers of India. The Congress leaders tried to bring home to the people the value of Non-Cooperation should any part of India be over run by the invading army. People were asked to resist unto death if the invading army sought to take possession of homes and fields. The Congress leaders knew that Non-Cooperation was a feeble weapon against the advancing army. They tried to create a spirit of resistance among people.

With the fall of Burma, Eastern India faced scarcity of food-stuffs. Burma was an additional source of supply of rice. It had been cut off by the Japanese. Japanese bombing upon the city of Calcutta brought the normal trade to a stand-still for the traders fled to the countryside. There was shortage of essential commodities and prices rose steeply. The Government did nothing to maintain supply of essential commodities or to keep

down prices. The Congress tried to develop special units in the rural areas to prevent break-down of village economy.

Failure of the Cripps' Mission made the authorities in India more vindictive and was followed by suppression of political and public activities. Some of the leading Congress men in the United Provinces had been arrested and detained under the Defence of India Rules. It was a complex situation. Many of the Congress leaders were disturbed. Action was the only answer to repression.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others of his school opposed any programme of direct action. They thought that direct action, while the invading army stood at the Eastern Frontiers, might tempt the Japanese to march into India. Mahatma Gandhi was not at one with them. He had ceased to believe in the goodness of the British ruling class.

During the three years of the war he compelled the Congress to follow a policy of non-embarrassment. He was the greatest friend of Great Britain in India. The rulers of New Delhi failed to reward his friendship. They could neither believe the Mahatma nor the people of India.

Mahatma Gandhi objected to passive submission to the British repressive policy in India. He decided to challenge the policy. Submission, accord-

ing to him, meant that India would be broken in spirit and people would act in a servile manner and freedom would be difficult of achievement. Submission would wreck the morale of the people and mean undoing what India had done in the struggle of national liberation. Submission would mean that the world would forget India's demand for freedom and post-war settlements would be governed by the old imperialist ambition.

While the Congress leaders debated the issue, the mood of the country changed from sullen passivity to one of rebellion. Mahatma Gandhi had read the change of mood and crystallised it into the programme of non-submission to the foreign authorities. It was a desperate mood and could not be reasoned into the acceptance of virtues of passivity while the war continued. Events moved quickly.

Mahatma Gandhi who had decided to build up the tradition of non-submission to the foreign authorities was silent on the nature of future action. Oftener he spoke of the possibility of a settlement with the British Government. He had no secret plan nor did want to impose a violent conflict upon the British Government. For non-violence was his ally in the struggle and it was the opposite of violent revolution. His speech at the All India

Congress Committee was a plea for settlement, and he expresed his earnest desire to approach the Viceroy.

What was the alternative in the event of failure of the negotiation with the Viceroy ? It was vague. He had not thought it out. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says that Mahatma had suggested in private talks a one-day *hartal* in the events of failure of all negotiations. Neither Mahatma Gandhi nor the Congress Working Committee had issued any other secret directives.

The All India Congress Committee met at Bombay on August 7th and 8th, 1942 and passed a resolution that goes in history as the 'Quit India Resolution.' The resolution was a reasoned argument for the recognition of Indian freedom. The resolution suggested formation of a National Government to undertake defence of India.

The concluding portion of the resolution sanctioned a programme of non-submissian to the British Government. That sanction was to be put into operation only when Mahatma Gandhi decided. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President and Mahatma Gandhi made it clear that their next step would be to approach the Viceroy. The British Government did not believe them.

On the morning of August 9, Mahatma Gandhi

and all members of the Congress Working Committee were arrested and detained without trial. In August 1942 India stood on the brink of a revolt.

Arrest of the national leaders was a prelude to the reign of terror in India. It was followed by the arrest of Congress workers in the provinces. Thousands were arrested and detained without trial under the Defence of India Rules. There had been spontaneous protests against the arrest of the national leaders. These were broken up by the police. That made people aggressive and there was a violent outbreak of suppressed emotions.

People defied the authority of the British Government and came into conflict with the police and army, in towns and villages. They attacked police stations, post offices, railway stations and cut telegraph and telephone lines. The targets of attack were symbolic for these were essential to the maintenance of the Imperial order in India. The unarmed mobs faced police and military firing upon 538 occasions. In some provinces they were machine-gunned by low-flying aircraft. By the end of September (1942), 721 persons had been killed and 1,219 injured. The figures are not trustworthy. It was to the advantage of the British to claim that the revolt was not widespread.

There were *hartals* all over India. In certain

industrial centres workers downed tools in protest against the arrest of the national leaders. In the steel city of Jamshedpur workers stayed away for a fortnight. They returned to work when the managemet promised to procure release of the Congress leaders. At Ahmedabad there was a general strike in textile mills. The strike lasted three months.

The movemet was strongest in Eastern India. In Bengal the place of pride goes to the district of Midnapore where people had set up a parallel government over a wide area. Midnapore was punished by the authorities. Collective fines were imposed upon a number of villages wrecked by a cyclone. In a year, 193 Congress camps and private houses had been burnt down by the police.

The revolt petered out. It was bound to. For it was not an organised affair as the British authorities tried to prove. It was the only challenge to the British authorities since the great revolt of 1857. The revolt had been inspired more by a sense of mounting frustrations than a reasoned policy of revolutionary action.

While repression continued, Bengal was gripped by a famine. The famine was as devastating as the one that stalked Bengal in 1770. It was a man-made famine caused by the indifference and

incompetence of the British ruling class. Later causes of the famine were investigated by an offiicial Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Woodhead who was a retired member of the Indian Civil Service. The report of the Commission is an indirect indictment of British rule in India. The Commission held that the famine could have been prevented by bold and resolute measures at the right time. The famine killed three million men, women and children in Bengal. The figure was brought out by an unofficial investigation carried out by the department of Anthropology of the Calcutta University. The official Commission halved the figure.

Starving men, women and children rushed to the city of Calcutta in search of food. They died in the streets. The authorities denied existence of the famine and the Press was forbidden to comment on it. 'The Statesman' published gruesome and ghastly pictures of dying women and children in the streets of Calcutta.

While millions starved and died, life in the city was gay. In the lobbies and dining rooms of the leading hotels hundreds of army officers drank, chatted, and stuffed themselves. They were forgetful of the world and the war. The luncheon menu at one of the hotels offered a

choice of twentysix different dishes. The round of pleasure went on far into the night.

That was not the right way of fighting the enemy. Bengal was an advanced area of operations against the Japanese, and Calcutta was the principal base of supply. A famine and breakdown of economy would injure the war-efforts. The authorities were slow to realise it. Sanity dawned upon them when Lord Wavell was appointed Viceroy. Lord Wavell acted with military speed and accuracy. He visited Calcutta and ordered introduction of rationing and relief measures for the refugees.

The revolt in India was suppressed brutally. It was followed by another revolt through the Indian National Army beyond the borders of India. The revolt was led and organised by Subhas Chandra Bose. Here begins the tempestuous career of Subhas Chandra Bose who had negotiated a political asylum in Germany in 1941.

In Germany he met the Indian soldiers who had been taken prisoners and formed the Indian National Army. Its objective was freedom of India. The Indian National Army functioned independent of German control and had its own propaganda department manned by highly educated Indians. It had its own broadcasting stations and

tried to counteract anti-Congress propaganda by Great Britain during the days of August Revolt.



MOHAN SINGH.

When Singapore fell twenty-five thousand Sikh soldiers were taken prisoner. They were marched to Ferrar Park and ordered to form an army of liberation to take part in the invasion of India. Captain Mohan Singh was placed in charge of the new organisation. Formation of the new army was brought about slowly. It was necessary to find a leader who could command the confidence of the Indian community in Malaya and Burma. The leader was forthcoming in Subhas Chandra Bose. He journeyed to the Far East in a German submarine and reached Singapore towards the end of 1943. His presence toned up the morale of Indians and thousands joined the Indian National Army.

Subhas Chandra Bose formed the Azad Hind Government. Its main task was formation of an

army to undertake liberation of India from the British control. He assumed the role of President —*Netajj*— of the new government and Commander-in-Chief of the Indian National Army. He had a cabinet of four ministers.

Matters did not progress well between the Indian National Army and the Japanese military authorities. Mohan Singh was put under arrest by the Japanese. Small revolts took place. A mass meeting of Indians at Port Swettenham was broken up and organisers of the meeting were punished. Subhas Chandra Bose paid a visit to Tokyo to mend matters. The Indian National Government was recognised by Japan, Germany and other countries allied with Hitler. He set up his head quarters in Burma.

Netaji Subhas Chandra visited capitals of many countries under Japanese occupation. He attended the Greater Asia Conference held in Tokyo. His fortyseventh birthday was celebrated in all the capitals of Japanese-occupied territory.

Early in 1944 the Indian National Army approached India and met the British troops in Arakan. The British troops were compelled to withdraw to India. In March the INA launched a major offensive and moved towards Assam. Captain Shah Nawaz chose to march on the capital of

Manipur. The INA moved towards Imphal and penetrated into villages lying in the East of Kohima. Both Kohima and Imphal were cut off and supplies were flown. The small town of Kohima was turned into a beseiged fortress and thousands of British and Indian troops died to defend it.



NETAJI

The Indian National Army set up its own administration in a small territory of Manipur and Bishenpur. The government, though without proper functionaries, possessed a treasury of thirty-five lakhs of rupees. It maintained direct contact with the Free Indian Army organised by Jai Prakash Narain in Assam and Bengal. The INA was forced to fall back as the Japanese held back supplies.

The hour of glory had passed away. On August 1, Netaji Subhas Chandra ordered withdrawal. Members of the INA wandered into forests or surrendered to the British troops.

The Vichy radio broadcast a mysterious message that Subhas Chandra Bose had died in an aeroplane accident on his way to Japan on August 19,1945. His death remains a mystery. While the Government of India confirms it, his associates contradict it.

The two revolts were short-lived. These emphasised India's right to freedom and spoke of a time when these would be active and aggressive. The revolts announced the beginning of the end.

In May 1944 Mahatma Gandhi was released from detention on grounds of health. He made an attempt to end the internal deadlock. The British Government was not willing to seize the opportunity. The rule of repression continued and special tribunals were being set up to try those who had taken part in the revolt of 1942.

In June 1945 members of the Congress Working Committee were set free. They conferred with the leading members of the Muslim League and tried to evolve principles of agreement on certain political questions. The attempt failed and sharpened differences between the Congress and the Muslim League.

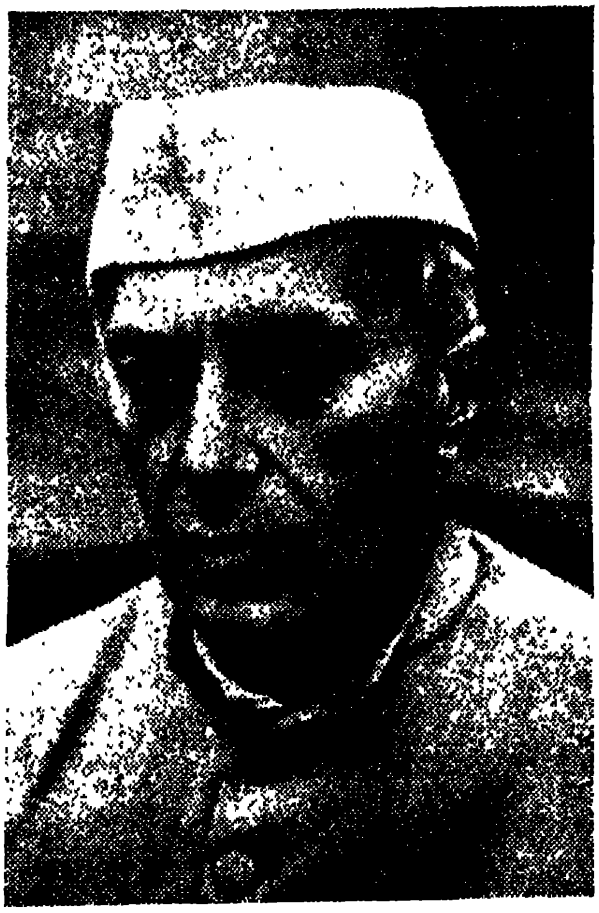
In August 1945 Japan surrendered. That brought the war to an abrupt end. In England the Churchill Government was dissolved. England turned away from Toryism and elected a Labour Government.

The rise of the Labour Party to power signified a change in policy. The Labour Party was pledged to grant right of self-determination to people in colonies.

In the post-war period India was swept by a wave of unrest. Discipline in the armed forces was low. Personnel of the navy mutinied and laid down arms when the Congress leaders intervened.

Internal unrest was further intensified by the trial of the members of the Indian National Army. With the surrender of Japan, members of the INA were put under arrest by the British authorities and brought down to India to stand trial on various counts. The Congress decided to defend the INA men, for they had committed no crime against the country and their action was inspired by patriotic motive. The historic trial opened at the Red Fort, Delhi. The INA men were defended by the leading lawyers of the country and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was one of them. Pandit Nehru who gave up legal practice decades back, donned

the long robe to demonstrate sympathy with the victims of wild justice.



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

As the trial of the INA men dragged on, people demanded their release. All over India meetings and demonstrations were organised. Some of these were broken up by the police. In Calcutta when several thousand students came out in a procession they were intercepted by the police. The students squatted on the main thoroughfare all night. It was depth of winter and the night was bitterly cold. It was a terrible physical ordeal for the boys. They faced it bravely. The authorities were forced to let the students take out the procession through certain prohibited areas.

The internal situation was explosive. It brought about a quick change in British policy under the Labour Government. On February 19, 1946 the

British Prime Minister announced the decision to send a Cabinet Mission to India. He made a significant utterance on the course of post-war political developments in India. 'It is no good', he said, 'applying the formula of the past to the present. The temperature of 1946 is not the temperature of 1920, 1930 or even 1942. Nothing increases the pace and movement of public opinion more than a great war..... I am quite certain that at present time the tide of nationalism is runing very fast in India.'

The Cabinet Mission arrived at Delhi by the end of March, 1946.

The Cabinet Mission devoted seven weeks to discussions with the major political parties. On May 16, the Cabinet Mission issued the outline of proposals of constitutional settlement. The Mission recommended formation of a Union of India and subjects to be under the control of the Union Government included foreign affairs, defence and communications. The Cabinet Mission laid down principles of territorial redistribution and divided the provinces of British India into three groups. The Mission entrusted the task of constitution-making to an assembly to be elected by the members of the Provincial Legislature formed under the Government of India Act 1935. The Mission suggested

the replacement of the Viceroy's Executive Council by an Interim Government having the support of major political parties.

The Muslim League stayed out. It did not join either the constitutional-making body or the Interim Government. (The scheme of the Interim Government was abandoned. A Caretaker Government was formed with the support of the Congress. The Muslim League joined it later.)

The Muslim League grew more aggressive and chalked out a programme of direct action. It was an imitation of Mahatma Gandhi's programme of Non-Cooperation and was intended to advertise rejection of proposals of the Cabinet Mission.

The significance of the programme of direct action was elaborated by the late M. A. Jinnah in a statement to the Press. The statement was in the form of a monologue delivered in an icy voice. 'We are', he said, 'forced in our own self-defence to abandon constitutional methods. The decision we have taken is a very grave one'.

Mr. Jinnah refused to define the form of direct action. Next day. he addressed a mammoth rally of impatient Muslims at Bombay and announced that sixteenth of August would be the Direct Action Day. He concluded his address with a warning:

We will either have a divided India or be destroyed.



M. A. JINNAH

The Direct Action Day dawned in an atmosphere of dread. It was an evil day in the history of Bengal. In the province of Bengal, Goverment offices remained closed on the sixteenth August. It was an unusual holiday, and had been sanctioned by the Muslim Leagne Ministry of Undivided Bengal. Crowds gathered at street-crossings in the morning while Muslim processions passed by. The Muslims looked excited and grim, and their slogans were provocative. As the day drew to a close, the excited humanity fell out with the Hindus. Here begins the story of the great 'Calcutta Killing.'

Each day saw degeneration of man into beast. Each day saw exposed the hollowness of the civilisation that has refined primitive savagery into artificial forms of culture. The author of

Direct Action sat far away on the Malabar Hills, while organised slaughter went on.

Calcutta was the principal source of infection. The Calcutta riot was followed by a series of riots in Bengal and other parts of India.

In the history of India the year is replete with heroic struggles by one of the greatest humanists of all times, and the city of Calcutta treasures the memory of the struggles. When hatred ruled supreme on this side of India, he rose against the forces of death and destruction. Here in the city of Calcutta started the struggle and his march through the villages ravaged by hatred and inhumanity brought the straying humanity to sense. He was lone and against him were pitted merchants of death who had killed thousands to establish supremacy of the plutocrat over the common man.

Mahatma Gandhi was in Delhi when the flame of hatred spread to Eastern Bengal and riots started at Noakhali. The news of riots made Mahatma restless and at the end of his daily prayer he announced his intention of visting the district of Noakhali. Mahatma Gandhi came down to Bengal on October 29, 1946 and spent a few days at Sodepore. He met many who had been victims of communal fury at Noakhali. He wanted to conquer hatred by love and decided to put

the doctrine of non-violence to a test. It was the greatest ordeal in his life.

Mahatma Gandhi set out for Noakhali and reached Chaumohani on December 7. As he moved from village to village both Hindus and Muslims came to listen to him. For Hindus who had suffered in riots the Mahatma had a message of courage. He asked the Muslims to salvage the most precious heritage of humanity— love of man. From the villages that once reeked with violence came the hoaryheaded Muslims. They offered to carry the message of Mahatma Gandhi to the villages. Many of them were gallant fighters in the days of the Khilafat Movement, when he used to address Muslim gatherings at the end of weekly congregations in mosques. Mahatmaji stayed at Noakhali till March 1, 1947. The flame of hatred spread out to Bihar. He was compelled to bring his itinerary in Bengal to a close.

The city of Calcutta did not have peace. Man-killing went on, though often there was decline in the intensity of fury. Mahatmaji came back to Calcutta on August 2, 1947 and on August 13, moved to Beliaghata where the poorer section of Muslims lived.

Months of violence strengthned Mr. Jinnah's logic of partition. On August 15, 1947 India was partitioned into two dominions. That brought British

Rule in India to an end. Thus a bleeding Pakistan was carved out of the body of a bleeding India.



MAHATMAJI

On August 15, peace came back to the city. That day Hindus and Muslims paraded the streets of Calcutta and tried to rebuild the normal social relations. The peace was short-lived. Criminals were out to foil Mahatmaji's mission. On August 31, riots broke out. Again the struggle started in the city of Calcutta, when he camped amidst ruin and death. Before his eyes a forlorn family was done to death while being carted away. That was the moment of defeat. Round him stood the functionaries of the State and the armed men. He had lost faith in them, and resolved to atone for the sins of all. He asserted his credo of life and won.

Peace brigades were formed. One of the brigades was attacked near a place of worship. Sachin Mitra who led the brigade and three others were stabbed to death. That evening Mahatmaji decided to go on hunger strike. That was a fast unto death. The city was shocked and members of both communities did their best to stop inhumanity. On September 4, Mahatma Gandhi broke fast.

The struggle continued, only the scene shifted. In the city of Delhi, hallowed with the memory of dynasties of rulers, the warrior fell. Mahatma Gandhi is dead and his greatness eludes all defini. tion. He was greater than Socrates and Christ. They faced hostile cities but he faced hostile millions !

The province of West Bengal forms a unit of the Republic of India, and the Government is run upon the principles of democracy. Partition has reduced the territory of West Bengal to 28,215 square miles, excluding Coochbehar State. It represents about a third of the total territory of undivided Bengal. Reduction in the size of territory has not eased the density of population. The state of West Bengal is by far the most densely

populated territory in the World. Its total population stands at 2 crores and 12 lakhs, and density to the square mile is 751 persons. Mass migration from East Pakistan has added more to it. A recent official survey puts down density of population to the square mile at 950 persons. The population falls into two classes, urban and rural. Of the total population about a fifth is urban and the rest rural.

The State of West Bengal does not produce enough food for the whole population. In West Bengal productivity of agricultural land is very low. While productivity is low, a small fraction of the total arable land is cropped. It works out at 0.44 acre per capita and therefore, the State faces perennial shortage of food grains. What is the low productivity due to? It is mainly due to the lack of extensive irrigation system in West Bengal. The low productivity can be done away with by the expansion of irrigation system. Irrigation is a positive aid to expansion of agriculture. It can add to the fertility of land and can thus improve the economy of the State. The State of West Bengal is not unaware of it and has decided to enlarge the irrigation systems.

Of the numerous irrigation schemes taken in hand the most important is the Damodar Valley

Project. The Project is being executed by an autonomous body, made up of the representatives of the Governments of Bihar, Bengal and India. The Damodar is a capricious river. It issues from the hills of Chota Nagpur and flows through the province of Bihar into the Hooghly. The course of the Damodar is short, and totals 336 miles. Though short in length, the Damodar is a destructive force. Every year it over-flows its banks over a wide area of West Bengal, and destroys crops and properties. So it is called 'the river of sorrows'.

When completed, the Project will refashion the economic life of the people. It will control the destructive course of the Damodar. The Damodar will turn into a chain of beautiful lakes dotted with green villages. The water that now destroys crops will be harnessed to generate electricity and to irrigate fields.

Upon the completion of the Project an additional area of one million acres in West Bengal will be irrigated. That will increase the fertility of the land, and it will yield a double crop. The Damodar Valley Authorities put down the value of additional crops at Rs. 5 crores every year.

Other irrigation Projects are also being executed by the State of West Bengal. Of these the biggest

is the Mor (Mayurakshi) Project. The Mayurakhsi rises from the hills of Dumka and flows through the uplands of the Santhal Parganas into the plains of West Bengal. Here it joins the Sideswari and the combined stream is named Mayurakhsi. It flows through the district of Birbhum and merges into the Dwarka. The Dwarka is fed by a number of tributaries that rise from the uplands of the Santhal Pargauas. Of the tributaries of the Dwarka, the most important are the Kopai and the Brahmani.

The 'Mor' Project is divided into two parts. Construction of a reservoir behind a dam across the Mayurakhsi in the Santhal Parganas forms the first part of the Project. The second part of the Project falls within West Bengal and includes the construction of a barrage (at Tilpara near Suri) with a complete canal system. The Project will cost Rs. 15.50 crores and will be completed in 1954-55.

The Project will control floods and irrigate about 6 lakh acres of land, and will increase the yield of crops. The total value of agricultural products will go up by Rs. 4.6 crores every year. The Project guarantees supply of cheap electric energy to numerous districts of West Bengal. Cheap electric energy will help the expansion of cottage industries.

Many minor irrigation schemes have already

been completed. These will irrigate an additional area of one million acres. Expansion of irrigation will transform the barren regions into green fields, and peasants will reap rich harvests. That will lead to the realisation of the essence of freedom— the freedom from want and poverty.

Expansion of irrigation is only a part of the scheme for the economic reconstruction of West Bengal. It may bring about a revolutionary change in the rural areas. Electrification of towns and semi-urban villages round the city of Calcutta will provide a fillip to the expansion of small industries. The State of West Bengal has taken up a number of such schemes. The North Calcutta Rural Electrification Scheme is designed to supply cheap electricity over an area of 750 square miles to the North of Calcutta and has made steady progress. The South Calcutta Electrification Scheme and the East Calcutta Electrification Scheme are intended to supply electricity over an area of 960 square miles.

The State of West Bengal has undertaken economic reconstruction and these are some of the major projects. These will release fresh energy and inspire the people with a new vision of the future. They will work hard to build up a better social system.

CHAPTER FIVE

The City Expands

Calcutta does not rank with the cities of ancient times when growth of city symbolised onward march of man on the road to civilisation. It has a history measured in years. The foundation of Calcutta synchronised with the end of an important epoch in the history of the world.

What was Calcutta like in the heydays of the Moghul rule ? Kalikatta existed when Akbar ruled. It formed a part of Satgaon (modern Hooghly). An eminent historian of the period, Abu Fazal, speaks of it. As Moghul conquest of Bengal was completed, services of loyal servants were rewarded with the grant of *jaigir*s, and Kalikatta was alloted to Lakhsikanta.

Satgaon was an inland port. It stood on the Sawaswati, now a dead river. The Saraswati joined the Hooghly near Garden Reach. The upward course was narrow, and sea-going vessels anchored near Garden Reach. Here the vessels were loaded with merchandise carried by country boats. While

Satgaon remained the main centre of trade, there sprang up a new centre down the Hooghly. Some families of merchants moved to Garden Reach and founded a new village (close to the modern Fort William), and named it Govindapore. The new settlement expanded and Sutanati was added to it. Sutanati grew into a colony of weavers and carried a thriving trade in cotton bales.

The days of the Dutch and Portuguese traders were over. They were being driven out by the English who had enticed the Governor of Bengal into granting the right to trade. Numerous English factories sprang up, and trade in silk and cotton continued to expand. The English traders were not on good terms with the officials of the Provincial Governor.

Matters came to a head in 1686 when the *Fauzdar* of Hooghly took action against the English traders. Job Charnock, the chief agent of the Company, retaliated and stormed the town of Hooghly. Job Charnock was forced to retreat when fresh reinforcements arrived. He sailed down the Hooghly and first took refuge at Sutanati and then at Hijli. Hijli was a malarious island infested with tigers at the river's mouth. Job Charnock's passage down the river was magnified into a magician's achievement.

Job Charnock was said to have roasted the river-front with a burning glass and with his sword cut asunder a massive iron chain drawn across to arrest his progress. Here his garrison held out, though reduced in number.

The Emperor consented to peace and Job Charnock returned to Sutanati on August 24, 1690. The day of his return is taken as the day of foundation of Calcutta. Job Charnock reigned more absolutely than a Rajah. While going along the Hooghly he chanced to come across a Brahmin widow of striking beauty being led to the pyre. He rescued her and they lived lovingly. She converted him to paganism and on the anniversary of her death he used to sacrifice a cock on her tomb.

In 1696 the English were permitted to fortify themselves against the rebel Rajah who was advancing south-east from the district of Burdwan. The fort was constructed hurriedly. It stood by the river and in 1699 was renamed Fort William in honour of the Dutch King of England. In the same year three villages, Sutanati, Govindapore, and Calcutta were leased to the Company by Vidyadhar Roy for a sum of Rs. 1300/-. The purchase of three villages did not entitle the Company to the privileges of a zemindar. The

Company was anxious to procure status of zemindar and plagued the Emperor at Delhi with abject petitions and prayers. In 1717 the prayer was granted and the Company acquired status of zemindar. It led to rapid expansion of English settlement and 38 villages were added to it.

Calcutta was an expanding town. Its population stood above one lakh and total area increased to two thousand acres. As the province was menaced by the Mahratta hordes, the Company was permitted to dig a ditch round the settlement. It is the Mahratta Ditch. The ditch was never completed nor was it manned. For the Nawab of Bengal came to terms with the Mahrattas and agreed to pay an annual tribute.

The scare of Mahratta invasion and growing trade of the Company led to an influx of population into Calcutta. In 1752 total population of Calcutta rose to four lakhs. When Alivardi Khan died, his grandson Siraju-ud-Doula succeeded to the governorship of Bengal. The Company had stretched its trade privileges and right of asylum. The English factories were being fortified without the permission of the Nawab. The English had sheltered a Hindu governor who fled to Calcutta with all treasures to deprive the Nawab of his dues. All these angered the Nawab and he

decided to punish the English traders. The Nawab seized the Kasimbazar factory and his troops swarmed across the Hooghly. The native troops deserted and the English fled into the Fort William. The Governor and many of the officials escaped into the ships and the garrison was driven to surrender. The prisoners were forced into a small room and on the following morning twentythree of them were found dead. It is the Black Hole Tragedy.

The town was recaptured by Clive and Admiral Watson, and the Nawab was defeated at Plassey. That day the Empire came into being and Calcutta became the capital.

Mirzafar succeeded to the governorship of Bengal. He was a choice of the Company, and he granted huge compensations to merchants and servants of the company for losses suffered during the siege of Calcutta. Mirzafar made a free gift of the Twentyfour Parganas and adjacent villages. A part of the compensation money was spent on the expansion of Calcutta. The village of Govindapore changed into the present Fort William and inhabitants were re-settled in Baghbazar area.

As the population of Calcutta continued to increase, the English tried to introduce the system of municipal administration and appointed the

Zeminder. Functions of the Zeminder were many and included collection of revenue, 'care of public order, convenience and health.' The Zemindar was authorised to make necessary repairs to roads and drains. By far the most noted Zeminder was John Zephania Holwell who had defended Calcutta against Siraj-ud-Doula. His assistant was Govinda Ram Mitter who earned notoriety as the 'Black Zeminder of Calcutta'. Govinda Ram Mitter built a Kali temple in Baghbazar. The temple was destroyed by a cycloue in 1737.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the office of the Zeminder was abolished and 'Justices of Peace' were appointed to improve the municipal administration of Calcutta. The muuicipal administration was without any source of revenue, and funds were raised by lotteries. The Lottery Committee was entitled to a tenth of the total value of tickets sold and the amount was spent on the expansion of municipal services. The Lottery Committee functioned till the end of 1836. During the period the Town Hall was built and the Beliaghata Canal dug, and a number of streets were opened.

With the dissolution of the Lottery Committee Lord Auckland appointed 'Fever Hospital Committee' to enquire into local management and

taxation in Calcutta. The deliberations of the Committee encouraged Lord Auckland to undertake a new legislation in 1840. The legislation was designed to introduce larger measures of autonomy in municipal administration. It was never put into effect due to the lack of initiative of citizens. By the Act of 1847 the Justices were replaced by a board of seven paid members and of them four were elected by the rate-payers. The board was empowered to hold and purchase property for the improvement of Calcutta and was entrusted with the maintenance of streets and drains.

The Act introduced system of taxation of horses and carriages. In 1852 the number of members of the board was reduced to four. By another Act the board was reconstructed in 1856, and the Commissioners were declared a Corporation. They were authorised to raise funds to undertake extension of municipal services. The Act enabled the Commissioners to undertake construction of drainage system in 1856. By the Act of 1876 the constitution of the municipal government of Calcutta was put on an elective basis and administration was handed over to a Corporation of 72 Commissioners. Of the Commissioners a third was nominated by the Government and the rest were elected. During the period (1876-

1899) the original drainage scheme was completed, supply of filtered water was increased, and tramways' service was introduced.

The original Act was amended in 1896. The new act reduced the number of elected Councillors by half and transferred administration of the Corporation to a member of the Indian Civil Service. It was an encroachment upon civic rights and twenty elected Councillors resigned in protest.

In 1923 the Act of 1896 was replaced by another legislation. The new legislation freed the Corporation from the official control and was sponsored by Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea (then Minister-in-Charge of Local Self-Government) who had resigned when the Act of 1896 was put into operation. The new legislation conferred franchise upon women.

With the introduction of democratic principles in the working of the Corporation, new areas were brought under the control of the Corporation. The reconstitution of the Corporation on democratic principles was followed by expansion of social services under the leadership of the late Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das who was the first elected Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation. In his inaugural address Deshabandhu defined the ideal of the Corporation : It is the great ideal

of the Indian people that they regard the poor as *Daridra Narayan.* To them, God comes in the shape of the poor and service of the poor is the service of God to the Indian mind. I shall, therefore, try to direct your activities to the service of the poor, and you will have seen that in the programme which I have drawn most of the items deal with the poor— Housing of the Poor, Free Primary Education, and Free Medical Relief.

As Deshabandhu decided to carry out the new experiment in civic ideals, his associates undertook to work out the new programme. The Corporation turned into a homogenous body. For the major number of Councillors elected under the new Act had been selected by Deshabandhu and principal executives were replaced by young men who had taken part in the Non-Cooperation Movement. Subhas Chandra Bose was appointed Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation.

While workings of the Corporation improved, nationalist control of the Corporation did not please the British authorities. The death of Deshabandhu and detention of Subhas Chandra Bose without trial did not deprive the Congress of its control over the affairs of the Corporation. The citizens chose to elect Councillors selected by the Congress

though municipal franchise was based upon communal principles. For more than a decade the office of the Mayor was held by Congressmen. J. M. Sen Gupta was elected Mayor five times, Dr. B. C. Roy twice and Subhas Chandra Bose once.

Today the Calcutta Corporation is the foremost municipal body in India, and its achievements in the civic sphere are many. Of the achievements outstanding are extension of free primary education, of free medical aid and improvement of the *bustees*.

Calcutta is the biggest city in India and its relative importance in the whole of India can be brought out by an examination of various forms of economic and intellectual activities since the foundation of the city. The history of industrialisation in India begins in Calcutta, and the earliest industries were pioneered by Englishmen. As the pace of industrialisation quickened, the number of factories increased. Today round the city of Calcutta stand 1200 registered factories, and average daily employment is estimated at 6.5 lakhs. This is more than a fourth of the total workers employed in industries in the whole of India. The gross value of annual output of industries stands at Rs 165 crores. Of the total jute manufactures account for Rs. 110 crores. Next to jute industry, comes engineering industry and its gross annual output stands in

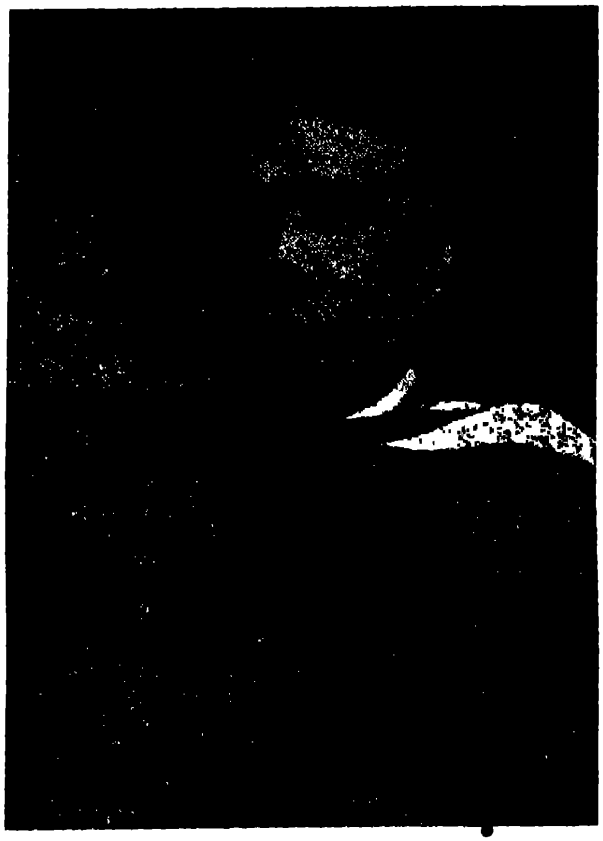
the neighbourhood of Rs. 27 crores. So greater Calcutta forms an important lever in the economy of India.

The oldest University in India is the University of Calcutta. It was founded in 1857 and for half a century its function was limited to the affiliation of institutions and testing of students at various exminations. The University had no post-graduate teaching or research departments. Teaching of students in post-graduate course was undertaken by a few colleges that could hardly afford to maintain an equipped staff. That kept the academic level low. The basic functions of Indian Universities were enlarged by an Act of 1904, and teaching and research were included. That did not turn a University into a true instrument of the advancement of knowledge. While teaching and research were added to the basic functions of a University by the legislation, funds were not provided.

The transformation of Calcutta University from an examining body to the foremost centre of advanced studies in different branches of knowledge was brought about by Sir Asutosh Mookerji. He raised funds, collected scholars, and expanded teaching and research departments.

There are few other institutions in Calcutta as important as the University where selfless students

have worked to add to the richness of human knowledge. Of these the important are the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Bose Research Institute.



ASUTOSH MOOKERJI

The story of expansion of the Uuiversity of Calcutta dates back to 1906, when Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was appointed Vice-Chancellor. He held the office of Vice-Chancellor from 1906 to 14 and from 1921 to 23. His first Convocation address defined true functions of a University. The true function, he said, of the University was not merely the distribution of knowledge, but also its acquisition and conservation.

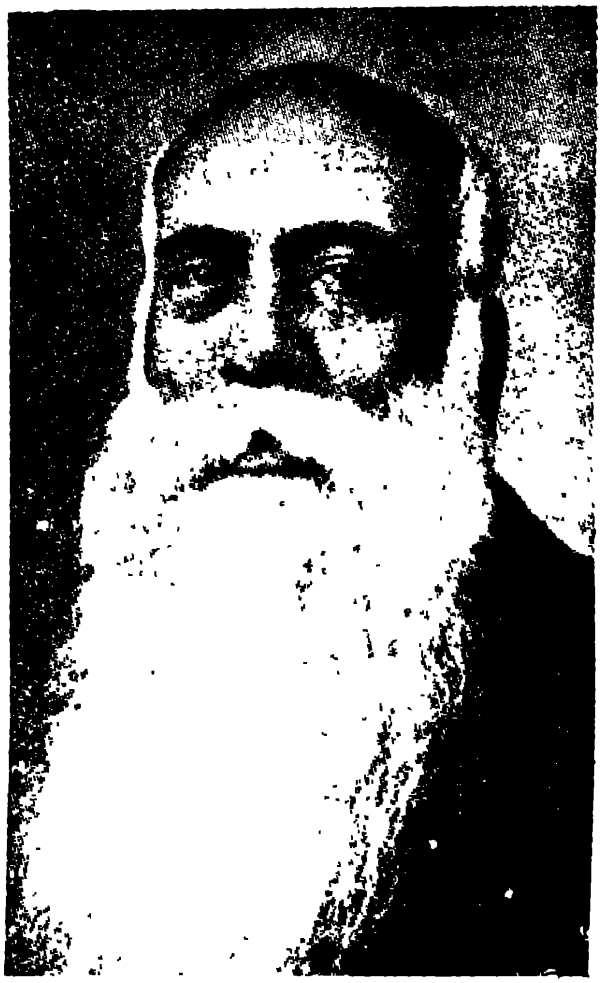
From 1907 onwards, distinguished scholars both Indian and non-Indian were invited to deliver a course of Readership lectures in the University.

In 1907 Dr. Thibault lectured on the astronomies of the ancient Oriental nations and Dr. Holland on the geology of India. The system has continued and many scholars of international repute have delivered Readership lectures.

During the first decade of the present century the University undertook instructions in Pali language and literature, the Vedas and the Vedanta philosophy. The professor-in-charge of Pali was the late Dharmananda Kosambi who later taught at many foreign Universities. An annual grant of Rs. 10,000 by Lord Minto led to the foundation of professorship of economics named after the Viceroy. The late Sir Monohar Lal was the first professor of economics. He had a distinguished career at Cambridge. In 1912 five new professorships were created. The expansion of teaching department was made possible by official grants and individual donations. Of the new profesorships one was held by Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal (1864-1938). He was George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy.

Dr. Seal had achieved international recognition before he joined the University of Calcutta. He represented India at the Orientalist Congress held in Rome, 1899. In 1905-6 he visited principal centres of learning in Europe. When the first Races Congress

met in Rome, (1911) he represented India at the Congress. The Congress opened with an address by Dr. Seal. On his retirement from the professorship from the University of Calcutta, he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University. When the Maharaja of Mysore decided to introduce constitutional reforms in the state, he invited Dr. Seal to preside over the Constitutional Reforms Committee. Dr. Seal drafted the constitution.



DR. BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL

Dr. Seal was one of the mightiest intellects born during the last few centuries. There was hardly any department of intellectual activities into which he could not enter alone; and which, having entered, he could not illumine with a light that was all his own.

Inclusion of major Indian languages in post-

graduate studies was another achievement of Sir Asutosh. It encouraged researches by distinguished scholars.

Expansion of post-graduate studies in arts and letters did complete transformation of the University into the true instrument of advancement of knowledge. The teaching of science had been left out. It required equipped laboratories and trained staff. The University had none. Sir Asutosh was resolved to introduce post-graduate teaching in sciences and founded the University College of Science in 1915. The foundation of Science College was made possible by endowment of funds by Sir Tarak Nath Palit and Sir Rashbehari Ghose. Both were interested in the promotion of scientific and technical education and advancement of pure and applied science. In 1912 Sir Tarak Nath Palit made over to the University land and money to the value of Rs. 19 lakhs. Sir Rashbehari Ghose endowed the University with a fund of Rs. 22½ lakhs. These were followed by another endowment of Rs. 5½ lakhs by Kumar Guru Prasad Sinha of Khaira.

The University established professorships of science and undertook post-graduate teaching. The foundation of the University College of Science marks an epoch in the history of scientific

studies and investigations in India. Sir C. V. Raman was the first Palit Professor of Physics. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had reclaimed the genius of Raman glued to the chair in the account department of Post and Telegraph. His acquaintance with Sir Asutosh was accidental. Sir C. V. Raman was a brilliant student of physics. He was in the Finance Department and had strayed away from science. Though unable to devote time to research, he was eager to cultivate company of active scientists. One day while returning from Dalhousie Square to Sealdah (where he used to put up) he caught sight of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. He got down from the tramcar and walked into the hall of the association, where he met Sir Asutosh and many others.

That accidental meeting with Sir Asutosh led Raman back into the world of science. Science held empire over him, though official duties took him to many parts of India. He chose to serve science, resigned from Government service and accepted the professorhip of physics at the University College of Science. Slowly the Science College turned into the foremost centre of scientific studies in India. Prof. Raman's researches won international recognition. In 1930 he was awarded

the Nobel Prize for Physics and was honoured with the Fellowship of the Royal Society. His assistant Prof. S. Krishnan achieved distinction in the world of physics and was admitted to the Fellowship of the Royal Society in 1940.



DR. M. N. SAHA

Of the students of the Calcutta University whose researches in different branches of science have added to the richness of the world, foremost are Prof. M. N. Saha, Prof. S. N. Bose, Prof. J. C. Ghose, Prof. J. N. Mukherjee and Prof. N. R. Dhar.

Prof. Saha and Prof. Bose are great names in the world of modern physics. Prof. Saha is a Fellow of the Royal Society and has represented India at many international scientific conferences. He is a great organiser and to him goes the credit of having developed the Science College into the principal centre of researches in nuclear physics in India.

Another dynamic personality associated with the expansion of advanced scientific studies was Acharya Profulla Chandra Ray. His was a life devoted to

science. He shunned fame and wealth. He was an ideal teacher and imparted the spirit of the true scientist to his students. Many of the leading chemists of modern India acknowledge the debt of gratitude to Acharya Ray for his guidance in the formative period of their scientific career. When he retired from Government service, he was appointed the Palit Professor of Chemistry at the University College of Science. He rendered service free and his salary continued to accumulate from year to year. The amount was funded as desired by him and was spent on the expansion of chemical laboratory and establishment of research-fellowship.



SIR P. C. RAY

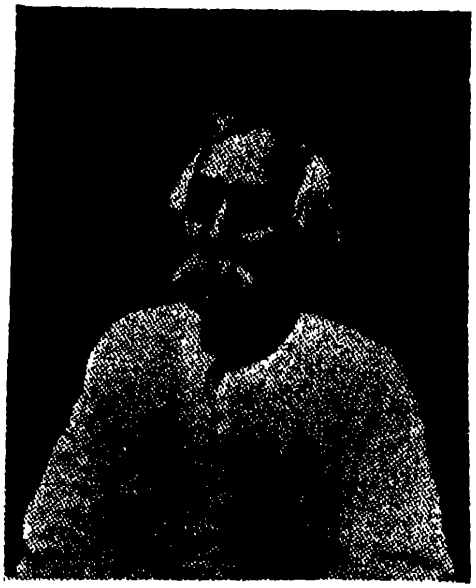
The Bose Research Institute is another centre of advanced scientific studies. Its foundation in 1917 was the fulfilment of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose's mission of life. His mission was acquisition and distribution of scientific truth.

In 1885 when his education in England was completed, he returned to India. He was a distinguished student of Christ Church, College (Cambridge) and had won the National Science Prize. He carried a letter of introduction to Lord Ripon from a renowned professor of England. That letter stood him in good stead. He was appointed professor of physics at Presidency College. He was a victim of racial discrimination. His appointment was temporary. That reduced his salary by half. His primary pre-occupation was science, and he carried research, though the college had no equipped laboratory. Some of his researches compelled attention of leading scientists in England, and the Royal Society secured him a special grant from the Parliament. His earliest and sensational research was on the transmission of electric telegraphic message without the use of wire. As early as 1895 he demonstrated it at an experimental



Sir J. C. Bose

gathering in Calcutta in the presence of the Governor. He gave up the experiment, while Professor Marconi of the Bologna University and another scientist of America carried it to a successful end.



MAHENDRA LAL SIRCAR

He turned away from physics to botany and proved that there is no sharp dividing line between the nervous life of plants and animals. His fame rests upon that discovery. Round the theory fierce controversies raged for years. He faced the critics and demonstrated the truth of his discovery. The world accepted the theory, and he was honoured by numerous Universities of the world in recognition of his services to science. The Royal Society conferred fellowship upon him in 1920.

The Bose Research Institute conducts post-graduate research and scholars are devoted students of science.

The Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science is the oldest centre of advanced scientific studies. It was founded by Mahendra Lal Sircar in 1869. Dr. Sircar was interested in advanced

scientific research and its varied application to life. With the Association have been connected many leading scientists of India. Both Prof. Raman and Prof. Krishnan carried their major researches at the Association. Of the Association Prof. Raman says : I have worked in different laboratories in Europe and America but I have always felt that Calcutta is the place for me and the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science is my proper place.



Sir William Jones

The Association is developing into one of the principal centres of advanced scientific studies in India. A special grant by the Government of India has enabled the Association to undertake extension of research departments and construction of new buildings outside the city.

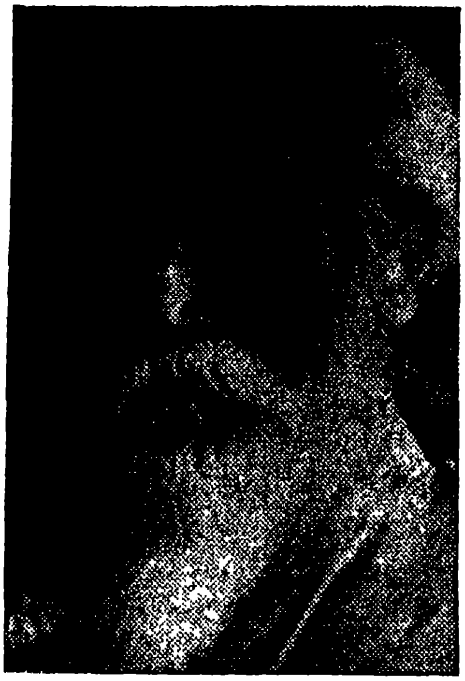
The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal is the

oldest literary and scientific society in the East. It was founded in 1784 by Sir William Jones, a Judge of the Supreme Court. The Society revived interest in past history, literature, arts and science. Its early publication was a collection of researches on Asia. It ran into twenty volumes. It was a mine of informations and sold out quickly, and a greedy publisher brought out a pirated edition of it. Another valuable publication of the Society is 'Bibliotheca Indica'. It is a series of texts in Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and other languages often with translations. Numerous standard works in Sanskrit, Persian and other Oriental languages are included in this series. The Journal and Memoirs of the Society contain research papers.

The Society has built up a very large collection of manuscripts. Its Persian, Arabic and Turkish collections run into several thousand volumes. The collection of Sanskrit manuscripts is still larger.

The city of Calcutta reared up the genius of the immortal singer—Rabindranath Tagore. Here in the city of Calcutta he had the first beatific vision that revealed to him the spiritual unity of the universe and opened the fountain of primordial joys. That day he burst upon the world

singing the matchless song. It was the glad song of the dawn. It haunts us still. It will haunt the world for ever. Are we not creatures of our time, thinking its thoughts and rejoicing in its chains ? If we want to escape from the tyranny of time, we must turn to Rabindranath. He is like a visitor from some fairy land. He stops at the inn of life and scatters the joys of living. He is not of our time but of all times.



RABINDRANATH

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

The American War of Independence (Page 2, line 26)

The war waged by the peoples of thirteen British Colonies in North America in 1776, ending in the victory of these peoples in 1783 is commonly known as the American Revolution or the American War of Independence. The victorious peoples of these states set up the United States of America with a democratic constitution

French Revolution (Page 2, line 26)

The struggles that began in France in 1789 and ended in 1795 are together known as the French Revolution. This revolution abolished monarchy in the end and set up a republican state in France. The watch word of the French Revolution— equality, fraternity and liberty— became the battle-cry of peoples all over the world and roused them to attain freedom and democracy in thier own lands.

The Brahmo Samaj (Page 3, line 18)

A body of men and women having beleif in the worship of the Supreme Being, Brahma, in spirit as opposed to the prevailing idolatry in India. Raja Rammohun Roy initiated the movement and the first place of public worship of these believers was established by him in the year 1828. The Samaj was later divided into three schools. The Adi Brahmo Samaj, the original one, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, and the Nava Vidhan under the inception of Keshub Chunder Sen.

Nineteenth century Europe (Page 7, line 23)

Europe in the nineteenth century underwent far reaching social and political changes in the wake of the industrial revolution. The message of the French Revolution won the day almost in every country in one form or another. Art, literature and science progressed by leaps. This century is considered the most outstanding one in the annals of the history of Europe.

Perennial gloom (Page 13, line 19)

Unhappiness or sadness that lasts forever.

The nineteenth century liberals (Page 24, line 7)

The nineteenth century England had a school of social and political thinkers who used to demand more and more social justice and political liberties. Foremost amongst them were James Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham. They advocated strongly the voting right of all men and women of England. The leading politicians and statesmen of the liberal school were Earl Carey, Gladstone and others. They were all noted for liberal ideas and acts, and were considered as ideal personalities by the liberals in other countries also.

Lexicographer (Page 24, line 17)

A compiler of words in alphabetical order with definitions of each ; A compiler of dictionary.

New dispensation (Page 26, line 8)

God's ways of directing human destiny in different times and places through His prophets are, in religious literature, refered as dispensation. Keshub Chundra Sen, coming out of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in 1878, declared that he believed that the theism of the Brahmo Samaj both in its past history and future prospects was a New Dispensation of God in India. He then established the Nava Vidhan Samaj or the Church of New Dispensation.

Unitarian Church (Page 27, line 6)

A church of protestants who believe in one God and disbelieve the doctrine of Trinity (God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost) and other beliefs. They, however, accept Christ as the Greatest Preacher and Prophet.

Chapter Two

Dante (Page 32, line 19)

An Italian Poet, born in 1265 in the city of Florence. Italy and the rest of Europe, then divided into innumerable small city-states and princedoms, suffered from internal disorders and mutual wars, and had no internal peace, Dante, in his great desire and earnestness for a united Italy and Europe dreamed of a great Empire. He was an outstanding poet of his age and his immortal work La Commedia stands a monument to his genius as a humanist. Dante's poems used to inspire Italian youth in their struggle for uniting Italy.

Mazzini (Page 32, line 21)

Giuseppe Mazzini, the great Italian patriot and author, was born at Genoa in 1805. For forty years he preached Italian unity tirelessly. In 1830 he was banished from Italy and organised the 'Young Italy' movement. He was one of the three leaders of the short-lived Roman Republic of 1849 and supported Garibaldi strongly. He died in 1872. Before his death he could see Italy united.

Garibaldi (Page 32, line 21)

Giuseppe Garibaldi, the great patriot of Italy was born at Nice in 1807. He came under the influence of Mazzini and the "Young Italy" movement and joined the uprising of 1834. Forced to flee the country, he went to South America. On return to Europe in 1848, he fought for the King of Sardinia, and defended Rome against the French. Garibaldi made repeated attempst to achieve his dreams of a united Italy. He died on June 2, 1882.

French Encyclopaedists (Page 38, line 24)

The editors of the French Encyclopidie, Diderot and D'Alembert and such outstanding writers and philosophers like Rousseau and Voltaire who contributed to it, were known as the French Encyclopædists. They were noted for wide learning and liberal thoughts.

CHAPTER THREE

Socialism (Page 60, line 17)

Socialism is an economic and political theory. It aims at reorganisation of the society to achieve the goal : From each according to his capacity— to each according to his labour. The meaning of this maxim is : The reorganised society shall be based on every able-bodied man and woman's voluntary service to the social fund to the best of their ability and the society shall supply essential goods etc. to these individuals and their families according to the extent and quality of their labour.

There are two main schools of thought among the socialists. One school says : Socialism may be established by gradual and peaceful methods. The followers are the British Labour Party and similiar other Parties in other countries. The other school claims to be scientific socialists. They say : To build Socialism the existing Capitalist States are to be overthrown by all possible means. The leaders of the Soviet Union, New China and some East European Countries are the followers of this school. They are known as the Communists.

Dominion Status (Page 63, line 8)

Dominion Status is the Status awarded to the British Colonies like Canada, Austratia, NewZealand and other such colonies. The Dominions enjoy autonomy in all the internal affairs of their teritories. Their foreign policy is guided by the British rulers in an indirect manner. The Dominions, however, have the right to go out of the Empire through common consent.

Sycophants (Page 66, line 17)

Mean-minded flatterers : flatterers of princes or great men. In ancient Athens the informers employed against the illegal exporting of figs were called Sycophants.

Civil Disobedience movement (Page 67, line 16)

The struggle waged by the Indian National Congress under Mahatma

Gandhi's leadership in March 1930 and continued till the cutting off of the movement in 1934, is known as the Civil Disobedience movement. The movement is called Civil Disobedience because of its non-violent character. The Congress Working Committee called upon only those who believed in "non-violence for the purpose of acheiving 'Purna Swaraj."

Spanish Republican Government (page 80, line 26)

The Democratic Government formed by several Parties of the centre and left in Spain after the 1934 general elections, is commonly known as the Spanish Republican Government. The dark forces of Fascism rose into rebellion against this popular Government. The Indian National Congress under Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership showed open sympathy with the Republican Government. Panditji personally went to the besieged city of Madrid then under constant bombing by the fascist rebels.

CHAPTER FOUR

Defence of India Rules (Page 95, line 8)

This infamous piece of a lawless law was formed by the British rulers in 1939 with a view to gag the voice of the Indian peoples during the last war. The Defence of India Rules were used against all the leaders of the Congress and other patriotic organisations. Indian patriots used to call it the British defence rules.

Socrates (Page 111, line 13)

A Greek philosopher, regarded as one of the wisest men of the ancient world, was born in 469 B.C. He taught that knowledge is more important than speculation— and that truth, knowledge and virtue go together while vice arises from lack of knowledge. Accused by the powerful people of Athens of those times that he had been corrupting the youth, Socrates was condemned to death by drinking a poisonous drug. He is till now considered as a martyr facing death for upholding a truth.

MODEL QUESTIONS

CHAPTER I & II

1. Write explanatory notes on the following :—
renaissance ; suttee ; god-intoxicated men ; parables ; Parliament of Religions ; the partition of Bengal ; Rakhi-bandhan ceremony ; the Amritsar massacre ; the Khilafat Movement ; 'uncrowned king' of Barisal ; the Saint of Dakshineswar.
2. Expand the idea contained in :—(a) To Bengali India's debts are many ; (b) The world of Bengali letters is indebted to Vidyasagar : (c) *Bande Mataram* did what Dante's poems had done to bring about the regeneration of Italy.
3. Illustrate :—'Literature mirrored the spirit of the new age.'
4. 'Bengal cradled renaissance and fathered the movement of national liberation.'—Justify the statement in the light of history. (Read those chapters of Indian history which cover the Moghul period and the early days of British rule in India. Relate your knowledge to the events that followed.)
5. Name some persons who have played prominent part in India's political and social awakening. Tell in a few sentences what you know about each of them.
6. The following are memorable names in India's history. Discuss briefly their contributions to modern enlightenment. Raja Rammohun Roy ; Pandit Iswar Ch. Vidyasagar ; Bankim Ch. Chatterjee ; Swami Vivekananda ;

Surendra Nath Banerjee ; Rabindranath Tagore ; M. K. Gandhi.

7. What are the followlng :—Nil Darpan, Sandhya, Jugantar, The Comrade, Bengal Peasant Life, Tattva-bodhini Patrika, Hindu Mela.
8. Relate the following to the social context of the time :— Anushilan Samity, Jugantar Party, the birth of the I. N. Congress ; the Bramho Samaj.
9. Explain :—(a) His oratory was like the river that flows on fed by a thousand rivulets. (p. 24) ; (b) Deep calls unto deep, and the two came to complement each other (p. 27) ; (c) A legend in the flesh, death confered god-head upon the saint of Dakshineswar (p. 28).
10. Mention some non-Indians who were directly or indirectly connected with the Indian renaissance. Give a short account of their achievements.

CHAPTER III

1. Give a short account of the various attempts made by the Congress to arrive at a settlement with the British Government.
2. The Civil Disobedience Movement was launched by Mahatma Gandhi on several occasions during the period under review. What were the aims of the Movement ? Cite two instances where the Movement exerted a great moral pressure.
3. Write short comments on the following, unfolding historical allusions where necessary :—the removal of the Holwell Monument ; the Defence of India Act ; Subhas Chandra tried to provide an antidote to frus-

tration ; the Chittagong Armoury Raid ; the Simon Commission and its aftermath ; the Amritsar massacre ; Khilafat movement ; Rabindranath Tagore renounced his kinghthood.

4. Elucidate : 'The Government was vindictive and determined to write the lesson with a whip on the sullen flesh of the people.'

CHAPTER IV

1. The Chapter has been titled "The Battle won." Do you agree with the title ? Suggest a few alternatives and give your reasons briefly.
2. Describe the situation contained in the following :
   (a) Bengal was another pageant of folly and futility, (b) The revolt petered out. It was bound to. (c) A bleeding Pakistan was carved out of the body of a bleeding India. (d) The temperature of 1946 is not the temptation of 1920, 1930 or even 1942 ?'
3. Tell briefly the circumstances that led to this : 'In the city of Delhi, *hallowed* with the memories of dynasties of rulers, the warrior fell'. Bring out the significance of the word italicised.
4. Write historical notes on the following :—The Cripps' Mission ; the Cabinet Mission of 1946 ; August 16, 1946 ; The INA and Azad Hind Government ; The August 1942 movement ; The Bengal Famine of 1942-43 ; The Interim Government.
5. Give a short account of the irrigation projects undertaken by our Government after liberation. Why is the Damodar called 'the river of sorrows' ?

CHAPTER V

1. Give a short description of the City of Calcutta in the days before Plassey. Enumerate some important and remarkable changes the city has undergone since then.
2. Write short notes on the following with special reference to their social or political or cultural contributions to the country's uplift :—the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal ; the Bose Research Institute ; the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science ; the Calcutta University Science College ; the Calcutta Corporation under Deshabandhu ; Fort William in Calcutta.
3. Bring out the allusions in :—The Mahratta Ditch ; the Black Hole Tragedy ; *Daridra Narayan*, Justices of Peace ; the first beatific vision of the spiritual unity of the Universe.

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

1. Narrate briefly the social and educational reforms brought about by Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Asutosh Mukherji and Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.
2. Write a paragraph (about 150 words) on each of the following makers of Modern India. (Pay more attention to their achievements than to biographical details). Sir Brajendranath Seal ; Mahendralal Sircar ; Sri J. C. Bose ; Netaji Subhas ; Deshabandhu C. R. Das ; Sir Aurobindo ; Swami Vivekananda ; Sri Ramkrishna Paramhamsa ; Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and M. A. Jinnah.

3. Having read the whole book you will be in a better position to understand the implication of the remark made in the opening Chapter : 'Bengal fathered the movement of national liberation.' Make this the subject of an essay (about 250 words) referring particularly to the many distinguished Indians whose life or career started in Bengal, owed much to the province, but soon expanded beyond the geographical limit. Mention political as well as other fields of human endeavour in your essay.

4. Read the full text of Tagore's orginal letter to the Viceroy in which he renounced his knighthood. Read also the famous national anthems composed by him. Try to arrive at an appreciation of the man and his writings.